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Sameness in Diversity:
Food Culture and Globalization in the
San Francisco Bay Area and America, 1965-2005

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Sameness in Diversity:
Food Culture and Globalization in the
San Francisco Bay Area and America, 1965-2005

by

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Susie

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The central paradox of globalization is its ability to simultaneously create cultural diversity and homogeneity. "Sameness in Diversity" examines how that paradox affects everyday experiences through food consumption in the United States. After the 1960s, globalization and immigration expanded eating choices in American supermarkets and restaurants. Even as eating choices widened, American and global food consumption increasingly homogenized, for fast food and processed foods captured larger shares of the collective diet.

The global fruit and vegetable trade and the efforts of supermarkets and food processors to market ethnic foods each show how Americans saw their eating horizons grow from 1965 to 2005. Asian and Latin American immigration created a demand for new foods in the United States, and advances in communication and transportation

enabled the consumption of those foods in San Francisco or Peoria. Cookbooks and restaurant menus served as translation devices for the new ethnic cuisines. The nature of translation changed over time, however, for what was once exotic became familiar, thereby homogenizing the ethnic.

The same supermarkets and restaurants that offered more food choices also homogenized. Supermarket chains consolidated within the United States and across borders so that shoppers and restaurant patrons in the suburbs of Shanghai and San Francisco could get the same foods from the same chains. For the first time these suburbs were at the nexus of globalization, embodying the sameness of strip malls and prefabricated housing stock, but also hosting the new immigration and its cultural diversity.

Globalization disoriented geography and Americans responded by searching for authenticity in foods, for global trade made that possible. The flattening nature of fast food and processed foods also caused many to search for authentic eating experiences. All of these elements – expanded food choices, homogenized eating habits, the translation of ethnic foods, the search for authenticity, and the importance of suburbs – come together in the way that Chinese food changed in America after the 1960s. It evolved from homogenized chop suey to differentiated dim sum to homogenized orange chicken, all in the span of four decades.

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(Used by permission from http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/maps/main/page, Hearst Communications Inc.)

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(Used by permission from http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/maps/main/page, Hearst Communications Inc.)

Introduction

Sameness in Diversity

This dissertation explains how American eating habits have changed over the last several decades and how Americans have shaped and responded to those changes, all in the context of recent globalization. After the 1960s, Americans ate a much more diverse array of foods, but they also increasingly consumed homogenized foods. Paradoxically, diversity and homogeneity marched forward together in American food, each force gaining intensity. I describe here how globalizing forces made that possible, and explain how food is a good lens onto this paradox – sameness in diversity. As one study has argued, the tension between sameness and diversity is "integral to globalization."[1] This dissertation shows how and why that tension progressed in the United States, as Americans attempted to understand their diverse consumption choices, sought consistent foods across borders, and desired authentic foods. As it describes American eating habits, this study also offers broad insight about the nature of globalization's cultural and economic changes, including those affecting consumption habits and the way Americans view ethnicity. The story here is fundamentally about how globalization affects Americans, but it ventures beyond borders too, providing snapshots of how culture and consumption have changed in other countries in the last forty years.

Globalization and mass immigration have had a dramatic impact on American life since the 1960s. In this study, globalization is given an historical perspective for it

[1] Frank J. Lechner and John Boli, *The Globalization Reader*, 3rd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 3.

indicates "change and dynamism over time."[2] The historian's contribution to globalization is "close attention" to that change.[3] The working definition used for globalization here is that it is an accelerating interchange of goods and ideas across regions.[4] In the last few decades, it became easer for many more of the world's people to travel halfway across the globe in just a day or instantly phone and e-mail someone in a faraway land. Due to accelerated transportation and communication, global trade and immigration increased. Global exports of all goods rose from 12 percent of world gross domestic product (GDP) in 1965 to 22 percent of world GDP in 2000.[5] Furthermore, from 1961 to 2000, the United States admitted over 24 million immigrants, resulting in what one commentator termed a "vast social experiment."[6] Immigration and the ability to access any good at any time caused many to say that the world was getting smaller, for people in Paris shared a great deal with those in Singapore. Paradoxically, the world was also getting bigger in many ways. The horizons of individuals around the world expanded enormously, for as consumers, they had choice upon choice at an instant.

At the center of this study is the fact that globalization has produced greater

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[2] Jurgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Globalization: A Short History*, translated by Dona Geyer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), vii.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Globalization: What's New? What's Not? (And So What?)," in David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate,* 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Polity, 2003), 75-77.
[5] Timothy Taylor, "The Truth About Globalization," *The Public Interest*, Spring 2002, 25.
[6] U.S. Census Bureau, "No. HS-9. Immigration by Leading Country or Region of Last Residence: 1901-2001," *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2003*, http://www.census.gov/statab/hist/HS-09.pdf (accessed August 28, 2007). About 24,248,500 immigrants entered the United States between 1961 and 2000. The commentator was Christopher Jencks in "Who Should Get In, Part I," *The New York Review of Books*, December 20, 2001.

diversity *and* greater homogeneity. As they ate, Americans wanted consistency and choice. In the case of fruits and vegetables, those types that had not been eaten in widely in the United States, such as cilantro and mangoes, were marketed by grocery chains and sought by American consumers, all in the name of variety. The very technologies that allowed produce to be shipped long distances – container ships, airplanes, and computers – also ensured a certain consistency of experience. Those technologies caused consumers to expect that they could get anything at any time and enabled large corporations to ship millions of their products to faraway places.

Even before the Internet allowed people to access news reports, entertainment, and e-mail messages at any hour, Americans were beginning to experience the anytime, anywhere phenomenon in the produce aisles. As late as the 1970s, the produce bins of the average grocery store in the Midwest during winter had been a sad place, dominated by root vegetables or mealy fruits. During that decade, however, fruits and vegetables were slowly being shipped over longer and longer distances, brightening up produce bins with tropical fruits and out of season grapes, peaches and pears.[7] Over time, seasons ceased to exist in the produce section, at least when it came to recipe planning. Though Michigan

[7] Bananas had been eaten widely in North America and Europe since the early 1900s. Other tropical fruits had been available before the 1970s, but not to the great extent that they were just a couple decades later, and not during any season. Steve Striffler and Mark Moberg, eds., *Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 4, 48-49, 57-58. Tropical fruits such as mangoes, melons, and papayas were all consumed more by Americans since the 1970s. Pineapple consumption was already high by that time, and remained about steady, though more fresh pineapple was eaten instead of the canned variety. See Judith Jones Putnam and Jane E. Allshouse, *Food Consumption, Prices, and Expenditures, 1970-97, Statistical Bulletin No. 965* (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 1999), http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/sb965/sb965.pdf (accessed June 21, 2007), Tables 16-18; Sophia Wu Huang, *Global Trade Patterns in Fruits and Vegetables*, (Washington DC: Economic Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture (hereafter ERS-USDA), 2004), http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/WRS0406/WRS0406.pdf (accessed June 28, 2007), 1-5. Fruit and vegetable consumption is detailed in Chapter 1 below.

or Texas residents still relished their local cherry and peach seasons, they were no longer wedded to making their cobblers or pies in the summer – they could bake them at any time of year. Chile and other Southern Hemisphere nations profited greatly from shipping produce to the Northern Hemisphere during winter. This meant a basic change in consumption habits over the course of the late twentieth century, as even things that seemed to be tied to nature's movements could be divorced from the normal time-space continuum.

Wal-Mart and other large companies ensured that Americans could get both consistency and diversity in their shopping experiences. Major grocers and food processors have extended their reach across nations in the last few decades, serving as one-stop shops for sameness and diversity. In Guatemala, Wal-Mart has changed the produce growing landscape in recent years by purchasing directly from farmers. Those farmers value selling to Wal-Mart because they are ensured a steady cash flow as opposed to the risk of trucking goods to local markets where their inventory may go unsold. In return, Wal-Mart demands consistency from those farmers – no misshapen or small fruits allowed. Guatemalan customers increasingly shopped at Wal-Mart because they found produce that was "clean, uniform in size and often lower in price."[8]

This attitude was neither confined to produce nor to Guatemala. Shoppers sought Starbucks coffee or McDonald's hamburgers in Mexico City, Shanghai, and San Francisco because of their uniform products. The brand name goods of those chains gave

[8] Marla Dickerson, "Wal-Mart Plants Seeds of Alliance with Latin American Farmers," *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 2008.

the stamp of consistency and quality. One study found that when ordering wine at restaurants, "despite a world of choices, restaurant-goers stick with the familiar brand names," confirming that brand marketing was just as important as the quality of the wine itself.[9] This should come as no surprise – food is among the most heavily advertised products, and brands are one way to get customers to distinguish among what seemed to be too many choices.[10]

Though shoppers at the Wal-Mart in Guatemala or Dallas each sought consistency by buying plenty of brand-name burgers, wines, and coffees, they were not robots. Sometimes, they wanted to feel as if they were engaging in unique experiences. Ethnic foods, ethnic music, and ethnic literature – these all provided a glimpse of something different in a world where everything began to look the same.[11] The back and forth of consistency versus uniqueness is the classic omnivore's dilemma – humans alternate between the desire for, and the fear of adventure. Globalization brought the omnivore's dilemma into full view, for it made new adventures possible and also allowed one to shrink away from them easier.[12]

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[9] Frank J. Prial, "Wine Talk," *New York Times*, April 17, 1991.
[10] Liisa Lähteenmäki and Anne Arvola, "Food Neophobia and Variety Seeking – Consumer Fear or Demand for New Food Products," in L.J. Frewer, E. Riskvik and H. Schifferstein, Food People and Society: A European Perspective of Consumers' Food Choices (Berlin: Springer, 2001), 169.
[11] On "world" music during the latest age of globalization, see for example, Timothy Taylor, "World Music in Television Ads," *American Music* 18.2 (2000): 162-92. The teaching of "multicultural" or "ethnic" literature in schools was a response to the civil rights movement, but also a realization that classrooms were composed of diverse student bodies. See Deborah Dietrich and Kathleen S. Ralph, "Crossing Borders: Multicultural Literature in the Classroom," *The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students* 15 (1995) http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/jeilms/vol15/crossing.htm (accessed March 15, 2008); Annenberg Media, "Teaching Multicultural Literature: A Workshop for the Middle Grades," http://www.learner.org/channel/workshops/tml (accessed March 19, 2008).
[12] On the ominvore's dilemma, see Paul Rozin, "Food is Fundamental, Fun, Frightening, and Far-Reaching," *Social Research* 66.1 (1999): 9-30.

Consumers valued consistency, but also wanted choice. The large supermarket purveyors such as Safeway used choice in their search for new avenues to profit. In the grocery aisles after the 1960s, modern companies' search for growth dovetailed with the currency of ethnicity in consumer culture. Though historians have told the basic story of ethnic marketing in this period, I document how supermarket chains sought new revenues in ethnic foods when they were also consolidating rapidly and increasing the size and scope of individual stores.[13] The largest chains came to dominate the market, with just three or four garnering a majority of consumers in each region.[14] The growth imperative and the threat of consolidation caused grocers to look for unique products, such as ethnic foods. One popular book on business strategy explained that "financial markets relentlessly pressure executives to grow and keep growing faster and faster… Growth is important because companies create shareholder value through profitable growth."[15] The text further explained that this growth was hard to sustain over time, especially for companies that had been in business for a long time. Those that could not grow were "brutally" punished in the stock market.[16] In their inability to adapt to the growth imperative, some long-time grocery chains fell by the wayside, but others, like Safeway, found new ways to sustain business, and ethnic foods were one major part of their growth

[13] The histories that tell the story of ethnic marketing most fully are Marilyn Halter, *Shopping for Identity: The Marketing of Ethnicity* (New York: Schocken Books, 2000); Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); Donna Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
[14] *Chain Store Guide 2001 Directory of Supermarket, Grocery & Convenience Store Chains* (Tampa, FL: Business Guides, Inc., 2001), a47-a99, 52-53, 135.
[15] Clayton M. Christensen and Michael E. Raynor, *The Innovator's Solution: Creating and Sustaining Successful Growth* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2003), 1.
[16] Ibid, 1-9, quote on 6.

strategies.[17]

Economic growth in this era was defined by consumption, and food is among the most important consumer goods. During the 1930s and 1940s, the American economy had shifted from one focused on production to one centered on consumption. By the 1950s, Americans were often defined and framed in terms of how they consumed.[18] Consuming a Cadillac instead of a Chevy, or French crepes instead of Mexican tortillas were each signs of having "made it." Part of this shift could be attributed to the ability for many Americans to simply spend less on essentials. In wealthy countries, people can devote a considerably smaller portion of the household budget to food, and in the case of the United States, that portion had decreased over time. In 1962-63, the average household devoted 24.3 percent of its budget to food, and by 2002-2003, that number had declined to 13.1 percent.[19] This decline meant that some food expenditures gradually moved into the leisure and entertainment categories for more and more Americans. While everyone must spend *some* money on food, in the United States a good portion of food spending is discretionary, especially for the middle and upper classes. In recent years, a large portion of tourism in the United States was primarily to experience food and wine.

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[17] On the growth imperative for grocery stores, see Walter Heller and Jenny McTaggart, "The Search for Growth," *Progressive Grocer*, April 15, 2004, 31-41.

[18] The historical literature on consumption has expanded widely in the last couple decades, prompted by the studies of Lizabeth Cohen. See *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). She describes the purchaser as citizen in *A Consumer's Republic*. Also see Eric Rauchway, "No Remedy Against this Consumption," review of *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Consumption in Postwar America,* by Lizabeth Cohen, *Reviews in American History* 31.3 (2003): 449-456; Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt, *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 379-406.

[19] U.S. Department of Labor, *100 Years of Consumer Spending: Data for the Nation, New York City, and Boston, Report 991* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of Labor, 2006).

According to one recent survey, "serious" culinary travelers spent between a third and half of their travel budget on food-related activities, and their most popular destination was California.[20]

Ethnicity became a way to fuel consumption-based growth in the post-civil rights era, as companies sought new ways to broaden their marketing possibilities. Ethnic foods were used by supermarket chains to capture business from immigrants and their descendants, and as a way to entice customers of various ethnic groups to try new foods. An "ethnic food," as shown here, is a term that changes over time, but in America it is a food that is not considered "American." It is instead associated with another ethnic group – say Chinese or Italian or Mexican. The term is transient because something such as the hamburger was brought by German immigrants to the United States in the 1800s but is now indelibly associated with the United States. Today, one would be hard pressed to find anyone who called a hamburger an "ethnic food" in any part of America.[21] The test

[20] "Salút, California," *Austin American-Statesman*, February 25, 2007. "Comprehensive Culinary Travel Survey Provides Insights on Food and Wine Travelers," Press Release, Travel Industry Association, February 14, 2007, at http://www.tia.org/pressmedia/pressrec.asp?Item=750 (accessed February 26, 2007).

[21] Ground beef had been used in many cultures for hundreds of years, but in Germany there was a "Hamburg steak" that some believe was the origin of the American hamburger. This claim is disputed by some, who argue different origins of the name and the food. On the hamburger, see Linda Stradley, "History of Hamburgers," *What's Cooking America* Web site, http://whatscookingamerica.net/History/HamburgerHistory.htm. (accessed March 13, 2008); "Hambuger," in David A. Bender, *A Dictionary of Food and Nutrition, Oxford Reference Online* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), at http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?entry=t39.e2593 (accessed March 13, 2008). When discussing the basic category of American food, the anthropologist and food historian Sidney Mintz said it included, "certainly hamburgers, and probably Southern fried chicken, and clam chowders and baked beans, steak, ribs, and perhaps chili, and hot dogs, and, now pizza, and baked potatoes with 'the works.'" Sidney Mintz, "Eating American," in Carole M. Counihan ed., *Food in the USA: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 23-40, quote on 27. Also see Donna Gabaccia, "What do We Eat," 35-40 in the same reader. Fittingly, the reader's cover photo shows a double-decker hamburger accompanied by fries. Not everyone agrees that hamburgers or hot dogs are American foods. Some argue that true American foods are those foods that were there before the arrival of Europeans, such as the turkey

for whether something is an ethnic food in any historical period is to basically ask if most Americans called it that. As one examination of ethnic and regional foods noted, "mainstream Americans frequently use foodways as a factor in the identification of subcultural groups and find in the traditional dishes and ingredients of 'others' who eat differently from themselves a set of convenient ways to categorize ethnic and regional character."[22] In globalizing eras, the "other" changes over time and ethnic character can migrate, as in the case of the hamburger moving from Germany to America, for "each regional and national cuisine is a culinary hybrid."[23] These ethnic foods became hybridized in part because they fit within a major strategy of modern American business – product differentiation, or getting consumers to buy the new, new thing.[24]

Food marketing was but one part of the larger trends toward market segmentation in American business. As the supermarket industry discovered that there really was no "typical shopper," it tried to segment consumers based on various elements, including race, ethnicity, income, and education.[25] Because mass marketing had prevailed from the 1930s to the 1960s, the transition to segmented marketing took time. Grocery stores, food processors, and restaurant chains progressively moved to target smaller subsets of the

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and certain chili peppers. See Raymond Sokolov, *Why We Eat What We Eat* (New York: Summit Books, 1991), 148-49.

[22] Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, "Introduction," in Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, eds., *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 3.

[23] Don Yoder quoted in Brown and Mussell eds., *Ethnic and Regional Foodways*, 4.

[24] One study estimated that about half of all new packaged consumer goods each year were foods or beverages. See John M. O'Connor, "Food Product Proliferation: A Market Structure Analysis," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 63.4 (1981): 607-17.

[25] *Progressive Grocer* said that the "buzzword of the 1980s was segmentation," for there was no "typical shopper." "The History of the Supermarket Industry," in *Progressive Grocer's 1992 Marketing Guidebook* (Stamford, CT: Progressive Grocer Trade Dimensions, 1991), (no page numbers – inside front cover).

buying public and used a broader range of products to do so. In the 1970s, grocery chains focused on capturing the "black shopper," even as they realized there might not be a formula for targeting her. Over time they developed strategies to sell to Hispanic and Asian shoppers while also attempting to sell the same products to a broader public. By using new technologies, such as computer-aided supply chain management, businesses were later able target even smaller segments, such as upper class immigrants from Hong Kong.

The specialized consumption of the grocery store extended to other arenas of American life. Recent technologies such as the mobile phone and the Internet isolate people into small groups at the same time that they widen their horizons. Supermarkets that targeted Hispanic customers, such as the Fiesta chain in Texas, found that customers of all ethnicities shopped there too, for their broad and inexpensive produce selection drew them in. The mobile phone has this dimension too – it can both widen and narrow one's purview, depending on the circumstance. While sitting in a coffee shop in Atlanta you can phone your aunt in Iran. As you do this, you isolate yourself from all those people sitting next to you in the coffee shop. The "paradoxical ability" for the cell phone to "unite and isolate" could be applied to food – the massive supermarkets of the multicultural metropolis offer everything for everyone in one place, but the individual shoppers might each have different shopping lists.[26] Americans bought their foods at the

[26] The quote comes from a review of a play staged in New York City in 2008 that centers on the way a cell phone can isolate and unite. The play, "Dead Man's Cell Phone," is reviewed in Charles Isherwood, "A Nagging Call to Tidy up an Unfinished Life," *New York Times*, March 5, 2008. The cell phone phenomenon is shared in the use of the Internet. People can sit before their computer screens, chatting, e-

same stores, but they did not necessarily eat the same meals.

At least not always. Even as food choices proliferated, Americans had a lot in common too, for there were homogenizing forces at play in the world of food consumption. Though Fiesta and other "ethnic" grocery chains proliferated and drew broader customer bases than even their founders expected, Safeway, Wal-Mart and a small number of supermarket chains came to dominate the grocery market. Eating homogenized within the United States and across borders in this era of globalization.

The superstores that came to dominate the landscape were increasingly located in suburbs, for Americans moved there in great numbers. After the 1960s, the trends toward suburbanization and globalization moved together. The number of Americans living in suburbs doubled from 1950 to 2000, growing from about a quarter to half the population.[27] At the end of the twentieth century, suburban life was the norm, and the suburban home became the "quintessential mass consumer commodity,"[28] making "suburban culture a consuming culture."[29] It was also a symbol of sameness and mass production. Assembly line construction techniques widened the province of homeownership beginning in the 1940s. The mass-produced home was cheap to build and cheap to own.[30] Mass production meant the homes from subdivision to subdivision,

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mailing or video-sharing with people thousands of miles away even as they isolate themselves from the people in their "community," or even their home.

[27] "Population: Urban/Suburban/Rural" in *The First Measured Century* http://www.pbs.org/fmc/book/1population6.htm (accessed August 18, 2007).

[28] Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*, 195.

[29] Roger Silverstone, "Introduction," Roger Silverstone, ed., *Visions of Suburbia* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 8.

[30] Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 239-41; David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1993), 131-43.

cul-de sac to cul-de sac, came to "all look the same."[31]

But underneath the superficial sameness lie great diversity. For one, the racial makeup of the suburbs ceased to be lily-white after the 1980s. Hispanics, Asians, and the foreign-born moved into the suburbs in great numbers.[32] New immigrants often moved directly to the suburbs rather than to city centers, in part because many could afford to. Chinese-American culture was as vibrant in the Silicon Valley suburbs of Milpitas and Cupertino as it was in San Francisco and Oakland. Silicon Valley was demonstrative of the changes in suburban life. Immigrants from around the world – and from China and India in particular – moved there to fill labor shortages in the electronics industry.[33] The strip malls and suburban supermarkets that proliferated in the suburbs of California were replicated in the suburbs of Taipei, New Delhi, and Mexico City as people moved among those places. And in all those places, people of all races and ethnicities put their individualistic flourishes on the sameness of the suburbs. Even Levittown, the model for mass-produced suburbia, slowly had its "standardized" form "redesigned, reformed into expressions of personal taste and identity."[34]

Diversity and sameness marched across the globe. Chinese consumers could eat American or Mexican foods, just as American consumers could Chinese and Mexican

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[31] The line from the 1962 Malvina Reynolds song, "Little Boxes," explored below. Charles H. Smith and Nancy Schimmel, "Little Boxes: Malvina Reynolds, Song Lyrics and Poems," at http://www.wku.edu/~smithch/MALVINA/mr094.htm, (accessed Feburary 12, 2007).
[32] Michael Jones-Correa, "Reshaping the American Dream: Immigrants, Ethnic Minorities, and the Politics of the New Suburbs," in Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue, eds., *The New Suburban History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 183-84.
[33] Bernard Wong, *Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship: The New Chinese Immigrants in the San Francisco Bay Area* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998), 9-15; AnnaLee Saxenian, *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs* (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 1999), vii, 11-21.
[34] Silverstone, "Introduction," in Silverstone, ed., *Visions of Suburbia*, 6.

foods. As consumers in Europe, the United States, and Australia tried the foods of the immigrant groups who arrived there in large numbers, those in developing countries also changed their diets to become more American or European. Some called this "diet globalization." One tangible result was the demand for wheat in areas of the world that had long favored other staples, such as cassava root in Nigeria or rice in India.[35] McDonald's was the modern evangelist of diet globalization, bringing to the world its beef wrapped in buns with a sidecar of fries. The company's impact was also paradoxical. It *did* institute a certain sameness to the world, but it also adapted to local circumstances well – this was one reason it was so successful in New York, Beijing and London. To fit local tastes, the company recently decided that it needed to overhaul the design of its European restaurants. It re-fitted the stores with fancy décor, offered more fancy foods, and most importantly, encouraged people to lounge in the restaurants rather than hop in and out. The new design spaces boosted profits, but the most ordered food items were still cheeseburgers and fries, quite like branches in the United States. The president of McDonald's Europe characteristically said, "We would like to stay true to our roots while moving forward."[36] At some of its locations in the United States, moving forward meant bringing Asian design elements such as feng shui to stores in the Los Angeles area, where not coincidentally, many Asian Americans were patrons.[37] There too, despite the new design, customers ate burgers and fries.

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[35] David Streitfield, "A Global Need for Grain that Farms Can't Fill," *New York Times*, March 9, 2008. Diet globalization also had the effect of driving up prices for goods that became desired in more places, such as bread and beef.

[36] Denis Hennequin, President of McDonald's Europe, quoted in Julia Werdigier, "To Woo Europeans, McDonald's Goes Upscale," *New York Times*, August 25, 2007.

[37] Jennifer Steinhauer, "I'll Have a Big Mac, Serenity on the Side," *New York Times*, March 2, 2008.

The very fact that McDonald's catered to Asian American customers was a new development. To show that the food culture in the post-1960s era was indeed new, one must show that there was a homogenized diet in the preceding years. By examining restaurant menus and supermarket offerings between the 1940s to the 1960s, I demonstrate that the menus of both independent and chain restaurants in San Francisco and other parts of the United States were strikingly similar.[38] The San Francisco menus were regionally distinct, for they offered a variety of seafood options and Chinese dishes, but despite this fact, Northern and Western European-origin foods dominated. Even the Chinese dishes were a monotonous catalog of chop suey and lo mein. The stereotypes portrayed in "Leave it to Beaver" and "Ozzie and Harriet" seemed on the mark, at least if you look at the 1950s menus of steaks and chops, mashed or fried potatoes, and a smattering of overcooked vegetables. In this period, chains dominated, hamburger was the preferred meat, and Americans shared a common dinner menu. Whether they ate at Stouffer's, Sambo's, or Big Boy's, they got something pretty similar in Los Angeles and in Toledo – indeed that was the point. That is not to say that people could not find a Chinese or Italian or Mexican restaurant, but it is to say that those restaurants often served basically chop suey, spaghetti and meatballs, or enchiladas, rather than the diverse array of foods to be found in each of the countries from whence those foods came. The sameness of the 1940s and 1950s was partly a result of slowed immigration after the 1920s. By 1970, the percentage of foreign-born was at its lowest in American history,

[38] The details on World War II era San Francisco restaurants and chains nationwide between the 1940s and 1960s are given in Chapter 3 below.

meaning immigrants of the previous era had come to share a common American experience.[39]

More diverse menus would slowly evince the meat and potatoes sameness of the 1940s and 1950s. Attended by its onslaught of varied goods, the new diversity meant many Americans needed help understanding all their new consumption choices. Incredible choice did not create incredible confusion, for there were plenty of translators to make foreign cultural goods understandable. In this dissertation I explain how Americans translated diversity in an everyday circumstance, the eating of ethnic cuisines, by making the exotic into something understandable. Food is a particularly appropriate cultural good to examine, for foodways "bind individuals together, define the limits of the group's outreach and identity, distinguish in-group from out-group, serve as a medium of inter-group communication, celebrate cultural cohesion, and provide a context for performance of group rituals."[40] The cooks and entrepreneurs who write cookbooks and restaurant menus are the translators of cultural norms between groups, and they are examined here. Those translators traversed a balancing act between the familiar and the new. In order to sell their foods and their cuisines, they needed to make them understandable, and to do that, they used reference points that Americans of all sorts could understand. At the same time, many of the translators believed they had to make

[39] Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States: 1850 to 2000, Working Paper No. 81* (Washington DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2006) at http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0081/twps0081.pdf, (accessed March 18, 2007), Table 1.
[40] Brown and Mussell, eds., *Ethnic and Regional Foodways*, 5.

their cookbooks and restaurants distinctive, for they could profit by bringing new or exotic foods to American tables.

As the translators made new cuisines understandable, the foods associated with them slowly became old hat for Americans. That meant cuisines that were in need of translation in the 1960s and 1970s, such as certain aspects of Mexican or Chinese foods, were used to translate *other* cuisines, such as Indian and Vietnamese, by the 1990s. Through the consumption of ethnic cuisines, one can see the process of cultural change over time, for food illuminates how people come to know and understand foreign cultures, making them less foreign over time. This process is an underlying constant in a rapidly globalizing world – because the unfamiliar is so regularly presented to consumers, they regularly need translation devices.

The way that Americans understood various ethnic cuisines is a reflection of the everyday cultural ramifications of globalization. Many studies have examined in depth how globalization affects other aspects of life, including working conditions, labor markets, and the environment. In particular, recent debate in the United States has circled around the North American Free Trade Agreement and the ongoing trade relationship with China.[41] Some studies also look at its cultural effects, detailing how American films

[41] A representative article on NAFTA is Marla Dickerson, "NAFTA Has its Trade-offs for the U.S.," *Los Angeles Times*, March 3, 2008. On China, one example is the series of reports by James Fallows about China's place in the world economy and U.S.-China relations. See "The $1.4 Trillion Question," *The Atlantic*, January/February 2008, and "China Makes, the World Takes," *The Atlantic*, July/August, 2007. This is just the latest focus – during the 1980s, the debate centered on Japan's economic rise, and in the 1960s and 1970s, trade with Europe.

are mass marketed abroad, or how "world" music is sold widely in the United States.[42] In this study, I place the translation process in the context of the simultaneous pull of diversity and sameness. I show that even a cuisine that would seem easy to understand for Americans – English – needed translation in the case of one cookbook on English foods. But the divide between American and English food was much less than that between American and Indian foods in the 1970s. In fact, at a time when Indian food was just appearing on the radar of American cuisine, the British experience in India was used as a way to understand Indian grilled meats and curries. In relating one cuisine to another, a certain homogenization occurs, for Indian food became more British as it was first experienced in the United States. Over time, this changed, as other cuisines became more widely understood in the United States. As Indian restaurants proliferated, two other cuisines – Mexican and Chinese – were used to explain it. Aspects of these cuisines employed a "hot flavor principle," and could be used to relate to other hot cuisines, such as Indian.[43]

Although the translation process was used to understand globalization's many choices, it also had a way of imparting uniformity on cuisines, for in relating one cuisine

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[42] Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997); Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May, eds., *"Here, There and Everywhere": The Foreign Politics of American Popular Culture* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2000).

[43] The "principle" is a concept developed by Elisabeth Rozin to categorize the elements of certain cuisines. In her description, the combination of certain foods can make up a widely recognized flavor principle. She argues that Mexican cuisine has two flavor principles – the lime-chili variety and the tomato-cumin-chili one. The Szechuan flavor principle is sweet-sour-hot. The Indian is simply "curry" but is a conjunction of spices with some a hot pepper added to some of the mixes. Though she categorizes the flavor areas, she also notes that the "question of authenticity is a ticklish one," and that using the flavor principle does not mean one can or must replicate dishes as cooked in their country of origin. See *The Flavor-Principle Cookbook* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1973), 3-14, quote on 4.

to another, the two move closer. As Americans understood tortillas, a similar bread, Indian chapattis, basically became tortillas on menus and in restaurant reviews. Though they have a much different history and significance in each culture, the two were equated. Spiciness also became uniform. Though there are "hot" qualities in many dishes in Mexico and India, the use of various spices is different in each. In India, masalas, or mixtures of spices, are tailored to each dish, and while many dishes may have a heat element, it is not necessarily the key to most dishes. In Mexican food, chilies are used not just as a flavoring additive for dishes, but are eaten stuffed or ground in large amounts into sauces and stews. In American restaurants and processed food bins, the nuances were often lost – hot was hot, and spicy was spicy.[44] Consumers needed something relatable between cuisines and too much distinction was hard to understand, so the middle ground prevailed.

In this manner, globalization made it difficult to get a handle on the nature of the "ethnic" in ethnic foods for it turned the local every which way, making region and place harder to pin down. This fact caused many to search for authentic culture, including authentic foods, but as I show here, that was quite a difficult task, for the authentic was an ever-moving target. No matter, people wanted the authentic, and they wanted it because of both of the globalizing forces – diversity and sameness.

Proliferation of food choices meant many Americans felt they could actually get authentic meals close to home. Residents of San Jose felt pretty good about their chances

[44] Ibid. On Mexican food, also see Diana Kennedy, *The Essential Cuisines of Mexico* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 2000). On Indian food see Madhur Jaffrey, *An Invitation to Indian Cooking* (New York: Knopf, 1973); Colleen Taylor Sen, *Food Culture in India* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004).

of finding authentic Vietnamese food, and much better about their chances in 2000 than in 1980, for Vietnamese immigration to the city had dramatically increased over those twenty years.[45] Furthermore, because food could traverse distance so easily, they felt it was possible to get that "essential" ingredient necessary to make a food authentic, for the special vegetable could easily be shipped from afar. Even as globalization increased the availability of more distinct foods, its homogenizing effects caused people to search for the authentic too. People searched for something "real" when they got tired of the standard burger and taco fare. This did not necessarily stop people from buying a lot of homogenized foods of the Panda Express or Frito Lay variety, but they also wanted something else, and asked for it at a good number of restaurants in San Francisco or Seattle. San Francisco and other cities even instituted anti-chain ordinances in which they restricted the building of large chain businesses in certain neighborhoods because of their "standardized" merchandise, décor, apparel, and signage.[46] The anti-sameness urge abounded even as Americans patronized chain stores daily. San Francisco, a city that had long welcomed change, sought tradition instead through its anti-chain movement. This was quite common, for there was a manic back and forth in the search for the authentic,

[45] In 2000, San Jose's total population was 894,943 and the Vietnamese population was 78,842, or 8.8 percent. See U.S. Census Bureau, "Fact Sheet: Census 2000 Demographic Profile Highlights: Selected Population Group: Vietnamese Alone," at http://factfinder.census.gov (accessed March 14, 2008). The Vietnamese population in San Jose was only about 8,000 in 1980, so there was roughly a twenty-fold increase over two decades. In 1990, the Vietnamese population in the city had been about 40,000. See City of San Jose, Department of Planning, Building, & Code Enforcement, "Demographic Trends: Census Brief, Race and Ethnicity," at http://www.sanjoseca.gov/planning/Census/briefs/race_ethnicity.asp (accessed March 14, 2008).

[46] "Section 702.1, Neighborhood Commercial Use Districts, City and County of San Francisco Municipal Code Planning Code" (Tallahassee, FL: Municipal Code Corporation, 2006) http://www.municode.com/Resources/gateway.asp?sid=5&browseAllCodes=San%20Francisco (accessed January 22, 2008).

brought on by globalization. People in San Francisco and Shanghai both welcomed globalization's changes and were fearful of them.[47] One tangible result of this mania was that Americans continually embraced new hybrids, such as California cuisine. It too was billed as authentic by its originators.[48]

California cuisine and other food developments originated in the Bay Area, and that region was also a centerpiece for globalization after the 1960s. The region is the focus of this study because it embodies the changes in American life in that period. It has been called the "pioneer of modern urban life, from the mid-twentieth century suburb in all its studied plainness, to the new urbanity of California cuisine."[49] San Francisco was an old cosmopolitan city that had long been a transfer point for global trade and migration. It remained at the heart of the new globalization. Most importantly, its suburbs boomed, powered by the growth of the computer industries in Silicon Valley and correspondent with the overall migration to the American Sunbelt during this era.[50] Between 1950 and 2000, the Bay Area ranked among the seven most populous metropolitan areas in the country every decade, growing from 2.2 million to 7.0 million

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[47] The concurrent fear and promise of globalization is explored in the essays within David Held and Anthony McGrew, *Globalization Theory: Approaches and Controversies* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007). There are hundreds of studies on the topic. See Taylor, "The Truth About Globalization," 24-51; Evelyn Hu-Dehart, "Globalization and its Discontents: Exposing the Underside," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 24.2&3 (2003): 244-60; Parag Khanna, "Waving Goodbye to Hegemony," *New York Times*, January 27, 2008.

[48] Donna Gabaccia argues that Americans have long welcomed foods from afar and have made hybrids as they appropriated those foods in an American context. See *We Are What We Eat*.

[49] Dick Walker and The Bay Area Study Group, "The Playground of US Capitalism? The Political Economy of the San Francisco Bay Area in the 1980s," in Mike Davis, Steven Hiatt, Marie Kennedy, Susan Ruddick, and Michael Sprinker, eds., *Fire in the Hearth: The Radical Politics of Place in America* (New York: Verso, 1990), 5.

[50] From 1900 to 2000, the mean center of the U.S. population moved 324 miles west and 101 miles south, from Bartholemew County, Indiana, to Phelps County, Missouri. The "West grew faster every decade than all other regions," during the twentieth century. Ibid, 16-20, quote on 20.

people.[51] Western cities, including San Francisco and San Jose, have been "national and even international pacesetters" since mid-century.[52] The Bay Area is the focus of this study because it previewed and illuminated nationwide eating trends and was at the heart of the United States' role in globalization.

* * *

To understand the changes in recent American food culture, this dissertation makes use of many sources that are used infrequently by historians, including cookbooks, menus, and tour guides. These sources describe in detail what the producers of foodstuffs thought about those foods. Chefs, food experts, and everyday people write cookbooks. Chefs and restaurant owners write menus. And tour guides are meant to direct tourists to certain food spots, whether they are restaurants or food shops. Those sources do not necessarily describe what people thought, however, when they tried a recipe from a cookbook, chose an appetizer from a menu, or decided to visit a restaurant reviewed in a guidebook. All food producers have to make what sells, however, so they are in constant dialogue with consumers, and the menus and cookbooks reflect that fact. Still, it is hard for historians to discover the constant dialogue about food in past eras. We all talk about our meals, the dishes we cooked the other night for dinner with the family, and the

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[51] Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoops, *Demographic Trends of the 20th Century*, Census 2000 Special Reports, November 2002. http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/censr-4.pdf (Accessed January 4, 2007), 21-37. The Bay Area was the seventh largest metropolitan area in 1950, moving to fourth place by 1990, and dropping to fifth largest in 2000. New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago occupied the top three spots throughout the period.

[52] Carl Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1993), pp. xii-xiii. Richard White makes this argument too in *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1991), 574-75.

vacation we had to some far-away place, but for the most part those conversations are hidden from historians.

To supplement these sources, one can get at the eater's viewpoint by looking at consumption data. The U.S. Department of Agriculture tracks basic food consumption data. This historical data allows some comparisons over time about eating trends, particularly with food items that may be associated with certain ethnic cuisines. Looking at the number of mangos sold in 1970 as opposed to 2000 can give some sense of the demand that many immigrant groups have had for that fruit over time. The restaurant and grocery industries also have a vested interest in tracking both raw consumption data and Americans' perceptions of certain foods. For that reason, the National Restaurant Association, for example, has intermittently conducted broad surveys about ethnic cuisines. Using data from those industries and government sources, this study has plenty of information about Americans' perceptions of ethnic cuisines over time, showing, for example, how and why Chinese food has long been popular in the United States, and Indian food has been eaten much less, but has been gaining over the last forty years. By combining consumption data, surveys, and a close reading of restaurant menus, cookbooks, restaurant reviews, and tour guides, I have been able to get a sense of what people ate, the language they used to describe their foods, and the manner in which each changed over time.

* * *

The first section of this dissertation unveils how globalization marked one eating arena – the fruit and vegetable trade. Chapter One describes how the fresh fruit and

vegetable trade expanded since the 1960s and has resulted in both sameness and diversity in American food consumption. The number of produce items at the typical supermarket increased fivefold from the 1970s to the 1990s, introducing Americans to fruits and vegetables they had little access to in the middle of the century. Many of those produce items were used in Asian and Latin American cooking, for mass immigration meant those fruits and vegetables were demanded at more stores. Shipping improvements made it possible to access that produce, enabling growers to send off-season fruits and vegetables around the world, meaning Americans could eat peaches in the winter. Off-season produce created greater consumption choices but paradoxically could also mean a sameness of experience, for one could choose to eat only peaches throughout the year, avoiding seasonal foods. Food consumption also homogenized in another way, for Americans ate more processed and fast food. This meant their diets consisted of ever-more corn and soybeans, for these two crops were the building blocks of most processed foods.

Chapter Two tells the story of the supermarket chains that diversified and expanded their offerings in the late twentieth century as they simultaneously homogenized and consolidated. Supermarkets marketed ethnic foods as a way to expand offerings and increase revenues. Globalization made it possible for the chains to market these foods, for products could be shipped across regions and new immigrants in the United States demanded foods from their home regions. Consumers sought greater product choice and ever-more exotic foods in their shopping experience and supermarket chains gave them what they wanted. As supermarket chains increased the size of their

average stores, they also consolidated. The biggest chains increasingly dominated the grocery landscape, meaning shoppers had more choice within a particular store, but saw strikingly similar product offerings from store to store. The consolidation of grocery chains and food processors then meant a certain sameness of the consumptive experience. Tortilla consumption was one example of this trend. Many Americans who had never seen a tortilla in 1960 ate them regularly in 2000, but as tortillas shifted from an ethnic food to an everyday food in America, consumers in both Mexico and the United States got them from the few processors that dominated the industry in both nations.

New consumption choices like the tortilla had to be explained to consumers, and Chapter Three reveals how Americans translated elements of foreign cultures through food. Americans contended with globalization in everyday circumstances as they read cookbooks, perused restaurant menus, and glanced at newspapers or magazines to decide where to get dinner on any given night. Cookbooks translated foreign cuisines for Americans in their most comfortable place, their homes. And menus translated those cuisines as Americans ate out more during this period, experiencing diversity in restaurants. In order to translate the new cuisines brought on by globalization and immigration, cookbooks and menus had to reference the familiar. They mixed the familiar and the foreign, creating a common experience that often resulted in homogenized ethnic cuisines in their American contexts. The translation process explains how culture changes over time, illustrating the manner in which the exotic can become the familiar.

The constant give and take of diversity and homogeneity caused many Americans to search for the authentic, including through food. Chapter Four explores how Americans searched for authenticity in food because eating is elemental, foods were one of the most traded goods across regions, and because globalization and immigration created a rootless or disoriented sense for many. Globalization allowed Americans to find what they termed authentic foods easily, for almost any food could be had in almost any place. Globalization also created dissatisfaction with the ongoing homogenization of culture, as Americans found themselves eating McDonald's hamburgers in pre-fabricated houses in cookie cutter developments that looked and felt the same, whether in suburban Atlanta or suburban Seattle. Those suburbs ironically became the site to best find many authentic foods, as shown in the case of Chinese food in recent America. Globalization came to the suburbs after the 1960s, and those suburbs in turn became as important to the global economy as central cities. Chinese immigrants and their foods made their way to the American suburbs and back to China, whether consumed in a 99 Ranch supermarket, a branch of Panda Express, or one of Wal-Mart's superstores. In Chinese and other cuisines, the chapter illustrates how the search for the authentic or "real" eating experience was in some ways a meeting place for the simultaneous pull of diversity and homogeneity.

Through food, we can see how globalization has made its mark on American culture and consumption since the 1960s. In that period, global trade and immigration to the United States both accelerated, bringing many more consumption choices to Americans. Diversity was not just a buzzword in the popular discourse, but could also be

found in produce bins, on restaurant menus, and in cookbook recipes. Paradoxically though, fast food, processed foods, and business consolidation brought a marked sameness to American eating habits. To understand their choices, Americans employed new translation strategies, but those very strategies homogenized the incredible array of new foods coming to America. And in reaction to the ebb and flow of diversity and homogenization, Americans sought authentic foods, but that was a slippery process, for food and authenticity were ever changing. Lastly, food choices diversified and homogenized not just in the United States, but also across borders and regions. Worldwide, there was sameness in diversity.

Chapter 1

Sameness and Diversity in the Globalization of the Fruit and Vegetable Trade

Once a major supplier of fresh produce to large Bay Area grocery chains, the San Francisco Wholesale Produce Market now mostly provides fruits and vegetables to independent restaurants, hotels, and small ethnic grocers. Lying underneath a California highway in the southern industrial recesses of the city, it has easy access to the bounty of the Central and Salinas valleys and is close to several major airports and shipping terminals. Fields near and far supply the Chinese vegetables, tropical fruits, and pedestrian apples, oranges, and potatoes that fill crates at the market's thirty companies. Although it still buzzes in the early morning hours, the market does not supply the major grocery chains in the area and as a result, is not responsible for the vast majority of produce eaten by Bay Area residents.[1] It does, however, make its mark on the region's food culture by being at the leading edge of the increasingly diverse array of fruits and

[1] The market only does wholesale trade and does not sell directly to the public. There were thirty merchants at the market as of August 8, 2007, San Francisco Wholesale Produce Market, "Merchants: Complete Alphabetical Listing," http://www.sfproduce.org/merchants/merchname.html (accessed August 8, 2007). During the middle to late 1990s, about 55 percent of fruits and vegetables were sold for home consumption in the United States. The other 45 percent was sold to foodservice establishments. Out of the amount sold for home consumption in the United States, only $1.1 billion out of $42.2 billion, or 2.6 percent, was sold in direct markets such as farmer's markets, in which farmers sell directly to consumers. The other 97.4 percent was sold to consumers at food stores, including everything from convenience stores to supermarkets. One study calculated that at the end of the twentieth century, supermarkets sold about 88 percent of all produce sold for home consumption (with direct markets selling the other 12 percent). The other large seller of produce for home consumption was supercenters, which captured greater and greater sales between the late 1990s and 2007. The San Francisco Wholesale Produce Market sold mostly to independent restaurants or small chains, so the consumer who ate at chains such as McDonald's or Chili's, would not eat produce from this market. See "U.S. Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Marketing Channels, Mid/Late-1990s," Produce Marketing Association, at "U.S. Supply Chain Flow Chart," http://new.pma.com/cig/intl/usMarketAndTrends.cfm (accessed August 8, 2007); Maria Margarita Calleja Pinedo, *Distribution Channels in the U.S.A. for Mexican Fresh Fruits and Vegetables* (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2001), 184.

vegetables consumed by people in the region. Restaurants that demand Satsuma tangerines, organic Adriatic figs, or heirloom tomatoes can get these from the market, for it has reoriented in the last couple decades to supply the wide range of exotic produce that many eaters have demanded.[2]

The market demonstrates not just how food choices have greatly diversified since the 1960s, but also the paradoxical march of sameness in food consumption during the period. Though the market offers a much wider variety of goods to area businesses than it did a few decades prior, activity there has slowed in recent years because of changes in the grocery and produce business. Most grocery chains like Safeway skip the market entirely by buying direct from large growers, multinational corporations like Del Monte or Dole, or produce brokers.[3] The very fact that the produce market no longer supplies these grocers also illuminates the march of sameness in produce consumption since the 1960s, for at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Bay Area residents bought the majority of their fruits and vegetables for home consumption from three purveyors – Safeway, Albertson's, or Costco.[4]

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[2] See newsletters from Greenleaf Produce, week of June 25, 2007, http://www.greenleafsf.com/newsletters/GLN062507.pdf, July 9, 2007, http://www.greenleafsf.com/newsletters/GLN070907.pdf, and Spring Seasonal Guide, http://www.greenleafsf.com/Seasonal%20Guide/SpringSeasonalGuide07.pdf (all accessed July 13, 2007), and Cooseman's Worldwide, http://www.coosemans.com (accessed July 13, 2007). Also see produce order forms from O. Lippi & Company, and Universe Co., LLP, July 20, 2006 (in possession of author). Not all grocery chains eschew the market. In 2006, Whole Foods Market and Mollie Stone's used the terminals there to supply area stores, but their sales were much smaller than Safeway's.

[3] Michael Janis (General Manager, San Francisco Wholesale Produce Market, San Francisco), interview with the author, July 18, 2006, San Francisco, CA. Janis described the broad changes in the produce market over the last couple decades.

[4] The San-Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA area had 735 total stores, including Safeway, Inc., with 156 stores and a 29.6 percent market share, Albertson's Inc. with 134 stores and a 19.8 percent share, and Costco Wholesale Group with 22 stores and a 11.6 percent share. Together, that is a 61.0 percent share. *Chain Store Guide 2001*, a91.

This chapter is concerned with the effect of globalization on one basic practice in the United States – the consumption of fruits and vegetables. Here I show that globalization is not an either/or prospect of greater diversity or greater homogeneity. Instead, it is both. Fruit and vegetable consumption illustrates the paradox of diversity and sameness in broader consumption practices since the 1960s. Accelerating global trade was made possible by improvements in sea and air shipping, and as a result, Americans could find a much wider array of produce in the typical supermarket of 2000 as compared to a market in 1960. Their increased choices included a range of goods that Americans had eaten infrequently before the 1970s. Even as Americans demanded a greater variety of produce options, they also wanted consistency in their shopping experience. They sought peaches year-round, and even better, "fresh" peaches that had been cut and bagged for convenience. And although they ate much more Asian and Latin American food, the American diet also became more and more laden with corn and soybeans. If the average American ate from fast food chains several times a week, was her diet really more varied than her mother's, when bok choy and cilantro were absent from most supermarkets?[5]

Sameness and Diversity in the Produce Bins

In 1982, Dennis Martin began working for O. Lippi & Company, a vendor at the San Francisco Wholesale Produce Market. In his quarter century there, he has witnessed

[5] Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal* (New York: Perennial, 2002), 3, 6.

the selection of fruits and vegetables broaden considerably. During his first year, he sold only 20-30 of a single variety of mango each week. Then, his mangos had to be in a "super-ripe" state, for he said his white customers would only buy them that way. Over two decades later, customers of all races purchased between 2,000 and 5,000 mangoes a week during the height of the summer season, and Martin could offer several varieties kept in several stages of ripeness, including raw ones for Mexican and Vietnamese customers. Consumption patterns also changed for other produce, including bananas, limes and peaches. With bananas, Martin could sell a much wider variety, including plantains, to both immigrant and native-born customers. Limes, once sold in the United States mostly for "weekend cocktails," were stocked in much greater numbers because they were a key ingredient in many Latin American and Asian cuisines. And another recent addition, the white flesh peach, became a standard on store shelves because immigrant Chinese customers were "just wild" about them, willing to pay a premium over the orange flesh variety.[6]

Although Martin saw his product variety expand over the years, there was also a degree of homogeneity in his and his competitors' operations. His firm was the largest banana seller at the market, and he relied on one supplier, Dole, for the most commonly

[6] All quotes from Dennis Martin, O. Lippi Produce Company, San Francisco, CA, interview with the author, July 20, 2006, San Francisco, CA. Martin is called the "banana man" at the market because his company supplies a large portion of those sold in the Bay Area, including a contract for all of Whole Foods Market's stores in the area. Further information about the produce market's workings came from the interview with Michael Janis, July 18, 2006; Paulo Ho, Treasurer and Co-Owner, VegiWorks, San Francisco, CA, interview with the author, July 20, 2006, San Francisco, CA; Roger Woo, Universe Co., LLC, San Francisco, CA, interview with the author, July 18, 2006, San Francisco, CA.

eaten variety, the Cavendish.[7] Dole grew this banana type mostly in Ecuador. Martin explained that Dole moved its operations to Ecuador because it did not suffer the tropical storms that periodically disrupted banana growing in Honduras and other Central American nations. Its equatorial location also gave it the advantage of year-round banana growing. Martin preferred Dole as a supplier because they kept the bananas "fresher" in their trip from Ecuador's plantations to San Francisco stores.[8] The industrial fruit processor has made its banana operations efficient enough to achieve consistency – a key to any company's success in the marketplace.[9] Both grocery operators and customers want bananas that are not spoiled or bruised, and have a consistent taste, texture, appearance and color. The banana is the most widely trafficked fruit in the world partly because it has all the benefits of the fast foods that became an integral part of life in industrialized nations during the twentieth century.[10] It is nature's perfect fast food, for it

[7] The Cavendish strain was introduced to cultivation in the Americas in the 1950s because it was immune to Panama Disease, which had attacked the previous preferred strain, the Gros Michel. Striffler and Moberg, eds., *Banana Wars*, 14, 19.

[8] Dennis Martin, interview; See also John Soluri, "Banana Cultures: Linking the Production and Consumption of Export Bananas, 1800-1980," in Striffler and Moberg, eds., *Banana Wars*, 72-77.

[9] On the importance of consistency in American food production, see Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*, 6-7.

[10] Bananas are the most traded of all fruits on the world market, and the equatorial growing of bananas developed to serve the long-standing demand for the fruit in non-tropical regions, such as the United States, Canada, and Europe, Huang, *Global Trade Patterns*, 4. On the banana and its special role as a commodity, see John Soluri, *Banana Cultures: Agriculture, Consumption, and Environmental Change in Honduras and the United States* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). The banana trade grew dramatically during the early part of the twentieth century. Total exports grew from 19.8 million bunches in 1900 to 97.2 million by 1929. Two companies, United Fruit and Standard Fruit, dominated the trade. By the 1910s, per capita banana consumption was more than twenty pounds, second only to apples and much larger than pears, peaches, strawberries, and grapes. See "Introduction" and Soluri, "Banana Cultures" in Striffler and Moberg, eds., *Banana Wars,* 4, 48-49, 57-58; See also Dole Food Company, Inc., *2005 All About Dole (Annual Report)*, http://www.dole.com/CompanyInfo/Relations/AnnualReports.jsp (accessed August 8, 2007). On fast food, consistency, and the impact of American fast food chains worldwide, see James L. Watson, ed., *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). The studies in *Golden Arches East* show that even with McDonald's, there is an element of local distinctiveness. On the wider influence of American companies abroad, see Peter N. Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 125-36. In 2001, for

grows its own packaging (the skin), is filling (by packing carbohydrates), tastes good (humans have a natural predilection for sweet foods), and is easy to eat on the run (just peel by hand).[11]

The bananas and mangoes appearing on store shelves in the last several decades are a good lens onto the paradox of sameness and diversity in consumption choices brought by globalization, changing business practices, and immigration. Produce at the typical grocery store changed dramatically from 1960 to 2000. First, choices expanded over those forty years, as mangoes, cilantro, jalapeno peppers, bok choy and a host of other items were added to store shelves. Second, there were more varieties of each fruit or vegetable by 2000. One could buy Pink Lady, Braeburn, McIntosh, Gala, Fuji, Granny Smith, and Jonathan apples where there had been only red and green in most grocery stores a few decades before. Third, a shopper could get fresh grapes, tomatoes, and other summer produce in the winter. Over time, more and more stores stocked produce shipped from Chile, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa during the winter. Together, these changes meant that in 1998 the typical American grocery store carried 345 produce items

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example, McDonald's operated roughly the same number of restaurants abroad as it did in the United States. Charlotte G. Friddle, Sandeep Mangaraj, and Jean Kinsey, "The Food Service Industry: Trends and Changing Structure in the New Millenium" (Working Paper 01-02, The Retail Food Industry Center, University of Minnesota, March 2001), http://agecon.lib.umn.edu/cgi-bin/pdf_view.pl?paperid=3093&ftype=.pdf (accessed August 17, 2007), 59-61.

[11] On the importance of sugar and sweetness in world history, see Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1985). The genetic basis for a sweet taste has only recently been established in Grace Q. Zhao, Yifeng Zhang, Mark A. Hoon, Jayaram Chandrashekar, Isolde Erlenbach, Nicholas J. P. Ryba and Charles S. Zuker, "The Receptors for Mammalian Sweet and Umami Taste," *Cell* 115, no. 3 (October 31, 2003): 255-66. A nutritional analysis of bananas can be found at NutritionData: Know What You Eat, "Nutritional Analysis, Bananas, Raw" at http://www.nutritiondata.com/facts-C00001-01c20Tm.html (accessed August 8, 2007).

whereas in 1987 that store had carried 173, and in 1975, only about 65.[12] A U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) report summarized the trends in fruit and vegetable markets during the 1980s and 1990s by noting that changes included an "increasing array of produce varieties," a "greater role" for imported produce, and an expansion of restaurant and takeout foods that employed those fruits and vegetables.[13]

Greater variety in the produce aisles was also a function of the new immigration from Asia and Latin America to the United States. This immigration has been one major component of the world's impact on American foodways. After immigration law was liberalized in 1965, immigration accelerated dramatically, bringing people from Asia and Latin America to the United States in unprecedented numbers. Asian and Latin American countries that had a long history of sending immigrants to the United States, such as China and Mexico, sent many more immigrants after 1965. And nations that had sent immigrants to the United States in relatively small numbers before, such as El Salvador, India, and Vietnam, sent people in much larger numbers as well.[14] Overall, from 1961 to 2000, over 24 million immigrants entered the United States.[15] As a result, by 2000, 11.1

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[12] For the 1998 and 1987 numbers, Linda Calvin and Roberta Cook, *U.S. Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Marketing: Emerging Trade Practices, Trends, and Issues* (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 2001) http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/aer795/aer795.pdf (accessed June 28, 2007), 3. For the 1975 estimate, Roberta Cook, "Challenges and Opportunities in the U.S. Fresh Produce Industry," *Journal of Food Distribution Research* 21.1 (1990): 67.

[13] Phil R. Kaufman et al., *Understanding the Dynamics of Produce Markets: Consumption and Consolidation Grow, AIB #758* (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 1999), 10.

[14] U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *2001 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Tables Only* (Washington DC: INS, 2001), http://www.ins.gov/graphics/aboutins/statistics/immigs.htm (accessed February 27, 2002).

[15] U.S. Census Bureau, "No. HS-9. Immigration by Leading Country or Region of Last Residence: 1901-2001," *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2003*, http://www.census.gov/statab/hist/HS-09.pdf (accessed August 28, 2007). About 24,248,500 immigrants entered the United States between 1961 and 2000.

percent of the U.S. population was foreign-born, the highest percentage since 1930. This was in marked contrast to 1970, when only 4.7 percent of the population had been foreign born, the lowest proportion in the last century and a half. By 2000, about half of the foreign born had come from Latin America, and about a quarter from Asia. This contrasted sharply with the great numbers of European immigrants who had entered the United States in the 1800s and early 1900s.[16] Of the top 20 nations sending immigrants to the United States between 1960 and 2000, six were in Asia and eight were in the Americas (see Table 1.1).

[16] Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*, Table 1; *The Foreign-Born Population: 2000* (Washington DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2003), 5. In 2000, about 51.7 percent of the foreign-born population of the United States was from Latin America, and 26.4 percent from Asia.

Table 1.1:
Immigration to the United States:
Top 20 Countries of Last Residence, 1961-2000[a]

	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2000	Total 1961-2000
Mexico	453,937	640,294	1,655,843	2,249,421	**4,999,495**
Philippines	98,376	354,987	548,764	503,945	**1,506,072**
Canada & Newfoundland	413,310	169,939	156,938	191,987	**932,174**
China	34,764	124,326	346,747	419,114	**924,951**
Dominican Republic	93,292	148,135	252,035	335,251	**828,713**
India	27,189	164,134	250,786	363,060	**805,169**
Korea	34,526	267,638	333,746	164,166	**800,076**
Cuba	208,536	264,863	144,578	169,322	**787,299**
Vietnam	4,340	172,820	280,782	286,145	**744,087**
United Kingdom	213,822	137,374	159,173	151,866	**662,235**
Jamaica	74,906	137,577	208,148	169,227	**589,858**
Soviet Union	2,465	38,961	57,677	462,874	**561,977**
El Salvador	14,992	34,436	213,539	215,798	**478,765**
Italy	214,111	129,368	67,254	62,722	**473,455**
Germany	190,796	74,414	91,961	92,606	**449,777**
Haiti	34,499	56,335	138,379	179,644	**408,857**
Colombia	72,028	77,347	122,849	128,499	**400,723**
Hong Kong	75,007	113,467	98,215	109,779	**396,468**
Poland	53,539	37,234	83,252	163,747	**337,772**
Greece	85,969	92,369	38,377	26,759	**243,474**

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, *2001 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Tables Only* (Washington DC: INS, 2002), 6-9.

[a] The Immigration and Naturalization Service explained the collection of the data used above in the following manner: "data from 1906-79 and 1984-99 are for country of last permanent residence; and data for 1980-83 refer to country of birth. Because of changes in boundaries, changes in lists of countries, and lack of data for specified countries for various periods, data for certain countries, especially for the total period 1820-1999, are not comparable throughout. Data for specified countries are included with countries to which they belonged prior to World War I," p. 9, source above. In this table, China includes Taiwan and the Soviet Union includes the several separate countries after its breakup.

Beginning in the 1960s, grocery store managers sought to attract greater business by marketing different produce items to both the new immigrants and native-born Americans. Some foreign-grown produce, such as the banana, had been an everyday part of the American diet since the early twentieth century.[17] In December 1965, *Safeway News* ran a feature about the supermarket chain's banana purchasing operations in Costa Rica. At the time, half of the world's bananas were consumed in the U.S., shipped by rail and sea from Central and South America to be held in "ripening rooms" before hitting store shelves.[18] Bananas were long removed from any ethnic connotation – they were simply an easy-to-eat fruit for consumers. Bananas were also the exception, not the rule. Other than bananas, Americans consumed few fresh tropical fruits and vegetables before the 1960s. At that time, American cuisine was still entrenched in meat and potatoes sameness.[19]

The consumption of two produce items, cilantro and limes, demonstrates how sales of fruits and vegetables diversified and increased as immigration accelerated after the 1960s. Cilantro is used widely in many Asian and Latin American cuisines, but Americans rarely bought it before the 1960s. Typically referred to in the 1960s and 1970s as Chinese parsley or fresh coriander, cilantro shifted from a difficult-to-find item on

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[17] Striffler and Moberg, eds., *Banana Wars,* 9-15; "Exotic" fruits such as the banana were eaten by American consumers because they were cheaper and better shipped by the banana "trust," despite their distance from consumers, "Apples and Bananas," *New York Times*, April 26, 1913.
[18] Abel F. Lemes, "The Banana… It's Incredible but Edible!," *Safeway News,* December 1965, 8.
[19] On the homogenizing effect of American cuisine during that era, see Kenneth F. Kiple, *A Moveable Feast: Ten Millenia of Food Globalization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 226-37; Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America,* rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 91. Americans did eat canned tropical fruits, especially pineapples, in significant amounts, but the fresh version was rare.

supermarket shelves to a must-have for storeowners across the United States. One author of a cookbook on Latin American foods became anxious that she would not have enough cilantro for a book release party in 1979, telling her editor that it "tends to get scarce when the weather gets hot." She also worried that she would have trouble procuring avocados for the event. Cilantro was both a seasonal and exotic ingredient at the time.[20] During the 1980s and 1990s, Americans became much more familiar with the ingredient, using it to make the guacamole and curries that they had tasted in restaurants. Whereas cookbooks once had to explain the distinction between cilantro and other herbs, by the 1990s customers demanded cilantro without hesitation. Large restaurant chains even used it in hybrid foods, such as a pollo barabacoa chicken pizza. The El Torito chain sold this at its Italian-Mexican hybrid restaurant chain, Pasta Manana, topping it with barbecued chicken, red onion, and cilantro.[21]

Limes are another case in point. They can be grown in warm areas of the United States, but since the 1960s have largely been imported from Mexico to sate the demand for Mexican and Asian foods in the United States. American consumption of limes grew dramatically in the last couple decades of the twentieth century, from a steady 0.2 lbs per

[20] Quotes from Elisabeth Ortiz to Judith Jones, June 3, 1979, Judith Jones Manuscript Collection, Series V. Editor Files, Box 854.2, Folder - Ortiz, Elizabeth, in Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Records, 1873-1996, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin (Jones manuscript collection hereafter shortened to JJMC plus the box and folder -- for example, as JJMC, Box 854.2). The cookbook was Elisabeth Ortiz, *The Book of Latin American Cooking* (New York: Knopf, 1979). In 1972, Madhur Jaffrey explained to readers that cilantro could be found at specialty stores, suggesting that it was not widely available at supermarkets. Copy Editing Comments, July 6, 1972, JJMC, Box 851.11. Cilantro is explained and given a pronunciation guide on the menu for the chain of El Torito Restaurants, Inc., Irvine, CA, reprinted in *Great Menus 1985* (Washington DC: National Restaurant Association, 1986).

[21] Richard Martin, "El Torito Founder Creates Mexican, Italian Hybrid," *Nation's Restaurant News*, October 26, 1992, 16; Steve Tsujimoto, Director, Marketing Support, Northern California Division, Safeway, Inc said his stores sold cilantro to all ethnic groups, interview with the author, July 21, 2006. See also "Familiar Mexican Fare Awaits at Carlos Murphy's, *The Virginian-Pilot* (Norfolk), August 7, 1994.

capita annual consumption during the 1970s to about 2.6 lbs by 2004, when they were used to provide acidity and sourness to something other than that occasional cocktail.[22] As an essential ingredient in guacamole and many Asian sauces, the lime slowly became a common item in the American supermarket basket. Fittingly, a cook in a Milwaukee kitchen probably uses limes grown in Mexico to make guacamole. A full 92 percent of limes eaten in the United States in the 1997-98 growing year were imported, with 99 percent of those imports coming from Mexico.[23]

Although there was greater choice in the produce aisles by 2000, other economic trends heralded a degree of homogenization. Americans had more choices within a typical supermarket, but for the most part they bought their produce at the same places. In 2000, supermarkets captured around 88 percent of retail sales of produce as supermarket chains consolidated.[24] Furthermore, the suppliers to those supermarkets had consolidated in the 1980s and 1990s too. Although there were 54 bagged-salad companies in existence in 1999, the two largest ones accounted for over three-quarters of sales in that food category.[25] The very existence of the bagged salad industry is one example of the desire for consistency and sameness in the consumption experience. Termed a "value-added" product by the industry, a bag of "fresh-cut" spinach presents a uniform package of salad greens. Rumpled, ugly, or discolored spinach leaves have already been taken out of the

[22] Putnam and Allshouse, *Food Consumption, Prices, and Expenditures, 1970-97*, Table 17; Gary Lucier et al., *Fruit and Vegetable Backgrounder, VGS-313-01* (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 2006), 13.
[23] Calleja Pinedo, *Distribution Channels in the U.S.A.*, 95.
[24] Kaufman et al., *Understanding the Dynamics of Produce Markets*, 9-16; Calleja Pinedo, *Distribution Channels in the U.S.A.*, 184.
[25] Calvin and Cook, *U.S. Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Marketing*, v.

mix. The buyer of bagged spinach wants convenience, but she also wants consistency.[26] The same is true for the buyer of winter produce. A shopper purchasing a winter peach wants to be able to make peach cobbler in January just as she might in June, when peaches are actually harvested in the United States. During the 1950s and 1960s, newspapers often ran articles dispensing advice to housewives about how to handle surpluses of particular fruits during local growing seasons.[27] At the end of the century, newspapers still ran columns about local fruit harvests, but they could provide recipes at any time of the year with almost any "seasonal" ingredient, knowing that if it was not in season locally, it still could be found on a local store shelf, likely shipped from thousands of miles away. The mental disconnect between local growing seasons and availability of produce was so marked that one San Francisco cooking school had to teach its students about the harvest seasons for various fruits and vegetables. In the school's library, a chart illustrated the seasons for which local produce was fresh. It advised that students should try a "new approach" and choose the "best, fresh-picked locally grown ingredients from this list first, *then* [select] the recipes that feature them in the chart below. Red boxes indicated when varieties of fruits and vegetables were harvested in North America."[28] Clearly, the students were used to seeing all produce available in all seasons.

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[26] Roberta Cook, *The Evolving Global Marketplace for Fruits and Vegetables*, (Davis, CA: Agricultural Issues Center, 2003), http://www.agmrc.org/NR/rdonlyres/DCE3CA96-A372-4522-BD18-1FFD84A0CFF1/0/globalmarketplace.pdf (accessed June 26, 2007), 1.

[27] In her column, Marian Manners, Home Economics writer for the *Los Angeles Times*, often gave advice about canning fruits for off-season consumption, "Fruit Needed in Each Day's Menu," January 21, 1947; "Its Time Now for Putting Up Berries," June 28, 1948; "Fine for Nutrition: Winter Fruits Add Zest to Menu Plans," November 3, 1950.

[28] Wall Chart, "Seasonal Produce," posted in the computer laboratory at the Alice Statler Library, City College of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA (hereafter CCSF), observed by the author on July 26, 2007.

The paradox of diversity and sameness in fruit and vegetable consumption lies in the existence of hundreds of choices for consumers in a particular shopping experience, but the sameness of the shopping experience from day to day. Diversity satisfies the curious nature of people. Sameness satisfies the fear inherent in trying new things. The evidence in the produce aisles in modern times embodies the omnivore's dilemma. Fear and curiosity are in conflict, often bubbling to the surface for individuals at different moments, so consumers sway between them.[29] For adventure, a shopper can select fish sauce and lemongrass to cook Vietnamese food for the first time. For comfort and security, she might make the peach cobbler her mom used to make in the summers, but be able to cook it on a January evening instead. And, a shopper who would have been forced to eat fresh produce during the appropriate season a hundred years ago can now choose to eat one type of fruit – a Pink Lady apple – all year long. Another shopper could choose to eat a different type of fruit each day of the year – all available at supermarkets within a small radius of his home.

Americans, both adventurous and tentative, simply ate more fresh fruits and vegetables over the last few decades of the twentieth century. From 1980 to 2001, per capita consumption of fresh vegetables and melons rose 33 percent. Per capita fresh fruit

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William Cronon best documents the separation of the farm from the table in *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).

[29] Liisa Lähteenmäki and Anne Arvola summarize the manner in which people seek new foods and the reasons they avoid them. "Food Neophobia and Variety Seeking – Consumer Fear or Demand for New Food Products," in Frewer, Riskvik, and Schifferstein, *Food People and Society*, 161-76. Also see C. Stallberg-White and P. Pliner, "The Effect of Flavor Principles on Willingness to Taste Novel Foods," *Appetite* 33 (1999): 209-221. A summary of long-standing research on food and psychology by Paul Rozin can be found in "Food is Fundamental, Fun, Frightening, and Far-Reaching," 9-30. Rozin has also studied rats, another omnivorous creature, to gather insights about food behavior and psychology. Primates also alternate between fear and curiosity. See Ramona and Desmond Morris, *Men and Apes* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 217.

consumption also rose 11 percent in that period.[30] Consumers considered the produce section of the store the most important, and it was on the top of the list of supermarket priorities, along with cleanliness.[31] Supermarket chains responded naturally by emphasizing the produce department, aided by the building of larger and larger stores. In the mid- and late-1980s, Safeway greatly expanded its produce sections as part of its strategy to build more superstores, and more space in each store allowed a greater variety of foods at each location. The company's 1989 annual report boasted, "whereas a few years ago customers could buy approximately 130 different produce items over the course of a year, customers today can buy more than 350 items, including exotic and out-of-season items."[32]

Globalization, rising incomes, urbanization, and nutrition education were all factors in the consumption increase, and higher imports made that consumption possible. Global trade, including that of agricultural products, rose markedly during the last few decades of the twentieth century, as farmers could specialize to better serve an export market. At the end of the twentieth century, American farmers produced all types of foods, but soybeans, wheat, and beef were high on the list of export commodities.[33] Worldwide trade accelerated dramatically at the end of the century, as global exports of all goods rose from 12 percent of world gross domestic product (GDP) in 1965 to 22

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[30] Huang, *Global Trade Patterns*, 20.
[31] Heller and McTaggart, "The Search for Growth," *Progressive Grocer*, April 15, 2004, 31-41; Richard Turcsik and Walter Heller, "Produce Persona" *Progressive Grocer*, October 2000, 59-63.
[32] Safeway Stores, *Annual Report*, (Oakland, CA: Safeway Stores, Inc., 1989), 3.
[33] USDA, *Agriculture Fact Book 2000* (Washington DC: USDA, 2000), 97-101; Michael Pollan describes the drive for farmers to specialize in commodity crops in *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006), 32-64.

percent of world GDP in 2000.[34] The global trade in fruits and vegetables also increased both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of overall agricultural trade. It grew from $3.4 billion in 1961, or 10.6 percent of agricultural trade, to nearly $70 billion, or 16.9 percent of agricultural trade, in 2001.[35] Even if population increases and inflation for that period are taken into account, global trade of fruits and vegetables doubled from $1 per person in 1961 to about $2 in 2001.[36] One factor in this rise was continuing urbanization and rising incomes. Studies by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations have shown that when people move to cities, they consume more fruits and vegetables. Farmers worldwide found they had growing export markets not just for the nations that had already urbanized like the United States, but countries for which the middle and upper classes were growing, like China.[37] And in the United States, health concerns have prompted more Americans to make fruits and vegetables a part of their diets. Media coverage and consumer education campaigns about healthy eating have intensified these concerns. The USDA food guide pyramid, for example, first devised in

[34] Taylor, "The Truth About Globalization," 25.
[35] Huang, *Global Trade Patterns*, 1. This number is not adjusted for inflation.
[36] In 1961, the world population was about 3.1 billion, making the global trade in fruits and vegetables about $1 per person that year. In 2001, the world population was about 6.2 billion, meaning global trade in fruits and vegetables had increased to about $11 per person by then. For population figures, United Nations Population Division, "World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision," http://esa.un.org/unpp/ (accessed July 19, 2007). When adjusted for inflation, the 2001 amount converts to about $1.90 in 1961 dollars, using Robert C. Sahr, "Consumer Price Index (CPI) Conversion Factors 1800 to Estimated 2015 to Convert to Dollars of 2001," http://oregonstate.edu/cla/polisci/faculty-research/sahr/cv2001.pdf (accessed March 26, 2008).
[37] FAO studies referenced in Huang, *Global Trade Patterns*, i-26, 44-45, 77-78. Huang also discusses the China import and export market. For a selection of comments about consumption by the growing middle classes in developing countries, including China, see Betsy Taylor and Dave Tilford, "Why Consumption Matters," in Juliet B. Schor and Douglas B. Holt, eds., *The Consumer Society Reader* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 469-70. The worldwide percentage of people residing in urban areas increased from 32.8 percent in 1960 to 46.7 percent in 2000, causing fruits and vegetables to be traded over longer distances to urban areas. United Nations Population Division, "World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision."

1984, recommends between five and nine servings of fruits and vegetables per day, and has had some success in educating Americans about the nutritional value of these foods.[38] In sum, rising demand caused the value of imported fruits and vegetables into the United States to roughly double between 1965 and 2000.[39] The United States was also the second largest exporter of fruits among all nations by the end of that period, as Canadian and Asian consumers sought oranges, apples, and grapes from California, Texas, Washington and Florida.[40]

While the United States exports a good deal of its fruit and vegetable production to its northern neighbor, it also imports a large percentage from its southern neighbor, Mexico. Mexican growers sell around 80 percent of their crops domestically to meet the nation's growing population, but certain crops have been sent in increasing numbers to the United States since the 1960s. These include tomatoes, peppers, asparagus, onions, and cucumbers. Mexican growers dominate the U.S. market for items such as green onions and frozen broccoli because they must be processed by hand and growers can pay Mexican laborers less than their American counterparts. Since the 1960s, U.S. firms have

[38] The food guide pyramid was the latest of various food guides the U.S. government had issued as part of nutrition education campaigns. The first food guide was published in 1916. See Susan O. Welsh, Carole Davis, and Anne Shaw, *USDA's Food Guide: Background and Development* (Hyattsville, MD: USDA, 1993).

[39] I calculated the value of fruits and vegetables imported to the United States as a percentage of GDP by combining agricultural import data in "Table B-102: U.S. Exports and Imports of Agricultural Commodities, 1945-2001" and GDP data from "Table B-1: Gross Domestic Product, 1959-2001," *Economic Report of the President, 2002 Report Spreadsheet Tables* http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/tables02.html#erp8 (accessed June 28, 2007). USDA data show that imports have doubled as a share of total U.S. fruit and vegetable consumption between 1977 and 1999, in Judy Putnam and Jane Allshouse, "Imports' Share of U.S. Diet Rises in Late 1990s" *Food Review* 24.3 (2001), http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/FoodReview/septdec01/FRv24i3.pdf (accessed September 11, 2007), 21.

[40] Huang, *Global Trade Patterns*, 44-45, 77-78.

also invested heavily in Mexican operations by transferring plant technologies to Mexican growers. During the 1980s and 1990s, as more American consumers demanded a year-round, consistent supply of fruits and vegetables, Mexico stepped up exports of winter vegetables. By the early 1990s, the majority of bell peppers, tomatoes, squash, and cucumbers consumed between January and March each year had come from Mexico. The American consumer, like her counterparts in almost any other industrialized or industrializing nation, could enjoy almost any fruit or vegetable at almost any time. Global trade meant more diverse choices for consumers, but a sameness of experience across seasons.[41]

Chilean Fruit and the Global Market

A large proportion of the fruits consumed in the United States during winters had been shipped by Chilean growers. Beginning in the 1970s, they realized that they could profit from their Southern Hemisphere growing season, refrigerated cargo holds on massive oceangoing container ships, and advances in airline technologies. By the early 1980s, fruit growing was the most profitable agricultural activity in Chile, partly because the Chilean government and trade organizations took an active role in promoting the country's agricultural bounty. Although other Latin American nations were saddled with debt during the 1980s, Chile's economy grew on the strength of its produce exports, bolstered by private investment in agricultural lands and handling and export facilities.

[41] Huang, *Global Trade Patterns*, 21-22, 41, 45; Susan L. Pollack and Linda Calvin, *U.S.-Mexico Fruit and Vegetable Trade*, *1970-92, Agricultural Economic Report 704* (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 1995), 5-7.

The Chilean government also promoted agricultural technologies by introducing new fruit and vegetable varieties, such as the kiwi, to Chilean growers.[42] The Chilean export promotion agency ProChile produced a brochure with the International Fruit World trade group containing dozens of glossy photos of glistening fruits. It explained how the beauties could be transported across the world by ship or plane. The brochure also advertised the unique geography of Chile, which enabled grape growers in the northern valley of Copiapó to harvest in mid-December and those in Talca, 1,100 kilometers to the south, to harvest in mid-April each year.[43] Because of these exports to the United States and elsewhere, fruits grew from 16.7 percent of all Chilean agricultural exports in 1970 to 40.3 percent in 1988.[44] By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Chile was second only to Mexico as a supplier of fruits and vegetables to the United States, and it dominated U.S. fruit imports from December to April.[45]

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[42] Some of these new varieties were introduced after a number of graduate students from the University of Chile studied horticulture at the University of California at Davis. See Claudio Barriga et al., *The Fruit and Vegetable Export Sector of Chile: A Case Study of Institutional Cooperation* (U.S Agency for International Development, 1990), v-12, which also details government and private sector initiatives to promote growth in the agricultural sector. See also Gabriel Casaburi, *Dynamic Production Systems in Newly-Liberalizing Developing Countries: Agroindustrial Sectors in Argentina and Chile* (PhD diss., Yale University, 1994), 47-68.

[43] International Fruit World, in cooperation with ProChile, eds., *Chile: An Exporting Country for Fruit and Vegetables* (Basel, Switzerland: International Fruit World, 1987); See also USDA, Agricultural Marketing Service, Fruit and Vegetable Division, Market News Branch, *Marketing Chile Fruits and Melons: 1981 Season*, (Bronx, NY: USDA, 1981).

[44] Barriga et al., *The Fruit and Vegetable Export Sector of Chile*, vii, 15. Chile also had a large export trade in livestock and lumber. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, copper remained the most important Chilean export and source of foreign exchange for the Chilean economy, but the fruit trade was a new avenue for growth in the Chilean economy.

[45] Foreign Agricultural Service, Horticultural and Tropical Products Division, USDA, *United States Horticultural Import Situation, 2002*, http://www.fas.usda.gov/htp/News/News02/03-02/Freelance%20Graphics%20-%20IMSUMARY.pdf, (accessed June 26, 2007), 5, 9, 18-19, 33. Other major fruit and vegetable suppliers were Costa Rica, Ecuador, and Guatemala, with bananas dominating much of the trade from those countries.

Grapes have been the most important of these fruits for the Chilean economy since the 1970s, as farmers have profited from shipping winter grapes and wine worldwide. The proportion of imported grapes in the U.S. market shifted from only 4 percent in 1972-74 to 53 percent in 2002-04. A great number of those grapes came from Chile between January and April each year. The concurrent rise in availability of winter fruits and overall produce consumption caused the average American to eat over eight pounds of table grapes in 2006 compared to only two in 1970.[46] Though Chilean vintners had long shipped wine around the world, they also began shipping wine grapes in the 1983/84 growing season to be used by foreign winemakers so they could produce "off-season" wines.[47]

The majority of Chilean grapes shipped to the United States in the 1980s and 1990s traveled on massive containerized ocean tankers that unloaded in either Philadelphia or California.[48] The development of containerized shipping was critical to the overall expansion in global trade after the 1960s. Whereas the typical merchant vessel carried only around 5,000 to 10,000 tons in 1950, many container ships at the end of the

[46] Gary Lucier et al., *Fruit and Vegetable Backgrounder, VGS-313-01* (Washington, DC: ERS-USDA, 2006), 8-9; Putnam and Allshouse, *Food Consumption, Prices, and Expenditures*, 88. Grape consumption was also abnormally low in the late 1960s and early 1970s due to boycotts organized by Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers.
[47] International Fruit World et al., *Chile: An Exporting Country for Fruit and Vegetables*, 33.
[48] Rich Pirog, "Grape Expectations: A Food System Perspective on Redeveloping the Iowa Grape Industry" (Ames, Iowa: Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture, 2002), http://www.leopold.iastate.edu/pubs/staff/grapes/Grape.pdf (accessed June 28, 2007); Walter L. Goldfrank, "Fresh Demand: The Consumption of Chilean Produce in the United States," in Gary Gereffi and Miguel Korzeniewicz, eds., *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 267-79.

century hauled over 150,000 tons.[49] For thousands of years, goods had been shipped by sea to be unloaded by stevedores at the docks. Over the course of the last century those docks were outfitted with forklifts, tractors and trucks, but the unloading process was still cumbersome and time-consuming, for individual boxes of goods had to be taken off ships in small sets. During the 1950s the American entrepreneur Malcolm McLean sought improvements in the shipping process by completely rethinking the loading and unloading of goods. He surmised that it would be more efficient to take the whole trailer from the back of a truck and simply drop it onto a ship using a large crane. In this manner the trailer could be packed at a factory in Peoria, Illinois, railed to the docks in New York and loaded on a ship bound for Rotterdam. There, the whole trailer would be unloaded by crane at the docks and trucked still further to its ultimate destination, Vienna. Only in Vienna would the trailer need to be unpacked.

Containerized shipping did not take hold immediately, but perhaps fittingly, it was the Vietnam War that made McLean a profit on his development. In 1967 he first contracted with the U.S. military to ship supplies to Vietnam via container ships, and by the end of the war in 1973, eighty percent of all cargo shipped to Southeast Asia went by container. During the war, the first circular container ship route was established between Asia and the United States. The route took loaded containers from the U.S. West Coast to Vietnam. There they were emptied, only to be filled again with new products in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan to be sent again to the largest ports on the West Coast –

[49] Paul Krugman, Richard Cooper, and T.N. Srinivasan, "Growing World Trade: Causes and Consequences," 25th Anniversary Issue, *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 1995.1 (1995): 363.

Seattle/Tacoma, Oakland, and Los Angeles/Long Beach. This Pacific trade dominated imports to the United States at the turn of the century, with China, Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan heading the list of nations sending goods to the United States via container ship.[50] Unfortunately, the war in Southeast Asia made millions of people into refugees. These "boat people," also brought their food habits to the United States. Prior to the 1970s, Vietnamese food was hard to find in the United States, and ingredients such as lemongrass and fish sauce could not be found on most grocery shelves. Slowly, that changed.[51] One San Francisco produce wholesaler sold just a few boxes of

[50] Malcolm McLean initiated the first container ship voyage on April 26, 1956, sending a vessel from Port Newark, NJ, to Houston. He signed his first contract to work in Vietnam in 1966, but it was not until 1967 that he was able to sign a further deal to containerize shipping through Cam Ranh Bay. Pacific trade import values for 2004 in Brian J. Cudahy, *Box Boats: How Container Ships Changed the World* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), ix-41, 106-11, 238-41. Also see Marc Levinson, *The Box: How the Shipping Container Made the World Smaller and the World Economy Bigger* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 3-7, 171-88; Marc Salvatore R. Mercogliano, "The Container Revolution," *Sea History* 114 (2006), http://www.sname.org/newsletter/SeaHistoryContnrShps.pdf (accessed July 9, 2007), 8-11. The container ships must maintain their uniform size, so any refrigerated cars must have refrigeration units built into the inside of the car, rather than on the outside. Container ships were not the first to truck goods on a circular route from Asia to the Americas. A vibrant route between Asia and the Americas existed from 1566 to 1815, sending Spanish galleons from Manila to Acapulco and back via the California coast. See William Lytle Schurz, "The Manila Galleon and California," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly Online* 021.2 (October 1917), http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/publications/journals/shq/online/v021/n2/article_1.html (acessed July 16, 2007), 107-126.

[51] Tim Zagat said he could not remember a Vietnamese or Thai restaurant when he started his first "Zagat Survey" restaurant guide with his wife, Nina, in 1979. Megan Barnett, "Grabbing a Bite: A Zagat Fave" *U.S. News and World Report, Executive Edition*, March 15, 2004, http://www.usnews.com/usnews/biztech/articles/040315/15eesuite.lunch.htm (accessed January 27, 2007). Thanh Long claimed it was the "first authentic Vietnamese restaurant on the West Coast" when it opened in 1971 in San Francisco. See Opening Night menu and announcement of Thanh Long Vietnam Restaurant, 1971, San Francisco, CA in CCSF, Folder – Calif, San Francisco, S-T; In a 1961 review, *New York Times* critic Craig Claiborne wrote that Viet Nam restaurant in New York City was "reputedly the only Vietnamese restaurant in America," in "Vietnamese Cuisine is Inexpensive," *New York Times*, August 15, 1961; One article reported that "several restaurants that feature Vietnamese, Thai, and Laotian food," had newly sprung up in the vicinity of Ft. Bragg in North Carolina because many servicemen had married women they met in those countries during the Vietnam War, Kenneth Reich, "Chop Suey n' Grits, Anyone?," *Los Angeles Times*, April 2, 1971.

lemongrass each year in the early 1990s. By 2004, he unloaded over 1,000 pounds per week, some coming by way of container ships.[52]

A container ship is a microcosm for the sameness and diversity in American life since the 1960s. Millions of commuters traveling between San Francisco and Oakland each year ride trains and automobiles past the massive ship terminals and train yards of the Port of Oakland. They look upon rows and rows of trailers that have been standardized at 40 x 8 x 8.5 feet so they can be stacked uniformly on the ships that will pass through the Golden Gate.[53] Although the boxes are numbingly uniform, they hide thousands of possible goods – toys and trinkets, persimmons and pears, books and barbecue grills. Paradoxically, the uniformity necessary for containerization of freight has made it possible to ship a much wider array of goods across the oceans, including the Chilean grapes that pass thousands of miles by sea from Santiago to ports in Oakland, Hong Kong, and Rotterdam. For that reason, consumers in each of those locations has a wider choice of goods available to them, but because almost any good can be shipped almost anywhere, those consumers also share their more diverse choices. As they traverse the oceans, these goods huddle together in sameness and diversity.

The journey by sea is often quite long – around 6,500 miles in the case of Santiago to Philadelphia – so foods must be handled differently than if trucked to market from a local field. Before airline and container shipping of fresh fruits, vegetables, fish, cheeses, and meats, Americans had basically three options to recreate the ingredients

[52] Paulo Ho, Interview with the Author, July 20, 2006. The rest was grown locally, as California farmers filled some of the demand for Asian-origin foodstuffs.
[53] The International Standards Committee set the size in 1961. Ships carry half-length trailers at 20 x 8 x 8.5 feet too, Mercogliano, "The Container Revolution," 9.

present in other locales. One was to grow those items in a suitable part of the United States. This was possible with a wide variety of foodstuffs. In California, Italian immigrants built large olive oil and wine industries and Chinese immigrants grew Chinese fruits and vegetables for the San Francisco, Sacramento, and Los Angeles markets.[54] The second option was to ship them by rail or sea, but that often meant risking spoilage, for they had to be kept cold for long periods of time.[55] The third option was to preserve the faraway food and ship it dried, salted, pickled, bottled, or canned.[56] Before the 1960s, fresh ingredients that had to be grown in geographies not found in the U.S. were expensive for American consumers.

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[54] On the Chinese in California agriculture, see Peter C.Y. Leung and Tony Waters, "Chinese Vegetable Farming: A Case Study of the Mok Farm in Woodland, California" *Origins and Destinations: 41 Essays on Chinese America* (Los Angeles: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1994), 437-52; Him Mark Lai, "Chinese Regional Solidarity: Case Study of the Hua Xian (Fah Yuen) Community in California" in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives 1994* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society, 1994), 19-60; Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). On the Italians in California agriculture, see the oral histories on food and wine from The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter BANC), such as Robert Di Giorgio and Joseph A. Di Giorgio, "The Di Giorgios: From Fruit Merchants to Corporate Innovators," Oral History Interview conducted in 1983 by Ruth Teiser, Regional Oral History Office, BANC, 1986; Hans Christian Palmer, "Italian Immigration and the Development of California Agriculture," (PhD diss., UC Berkeley, 1965).

[55] On advances in refrigeration for food shipping, see James Comer, "North America from 1492 to Present" in Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas, eds., *The Cambridge World History of Food,* vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1315. An early article on the changes that refrigeration was making on the fruit industry is William A. Taylor, "The Influence of Refrigeration on the Fruit Industry," in *Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, 1900* (Washington DC: USDA, 1901), 561-80. The yearbook said, "Since 1897 several shipments each year of grapes, peaches, plums, summer apples, and pears from Canada to British markets have been made on the subsidized refrigerated steamers controlled by the Dominion government. These have usually reached their destination in sound condition and sold at encouraging prices," 580. It also highlighted those apple varieties that "endure refrigeration well," 571.

[56] On the preservation of foods and industrialized methods for packing and shipping, see Jack Goody, "Industrial Food: Towards the Development of a World Cuisine," in Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 338-56; Sue Shephard, *Pickled, Potted, and Canned: How the Art and Science of Food Preserving Changed the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

Growers, distributors, and supermarkets enable the shipment of grapes and other produce by stringing together a "cold chain" to ensure that the grapes stay fresh. The very term, "fresh," expands when speaking of grapes shipped over oceans, for they take about two weeks to get from the Chilean fields to the American consumer. Just after harvest, grapes must be nestled in boxes alongside sulfur dioxide packs to inhibit fungus growth. They are then trucked to cooling facilities for preservation. Chilean exporters had to create a large infrastructure for cooling and packing in the 1980s; they more than doubled the country's cold storage capacity during that decade.[57] After transfer to these cooling facilities, they are loaded into containers for the ocean voyage. Traveling via the Panama Canal from Santiago to Philadelphia, the containers are trucked to locations around the East or Midwest, where they are finally unloaded. Produce clerks remove the sulfur dioxide packs and pile them "fresh" onto store displays. Philadelphia port authorities and Chilean exporters developed strong connections in the 1980s to enable this process, and by the end of that decade, Chilean fruit represented about one-third of all the dockworker man-hours at the Philadelphia terminal.[58] To capture markets in the western United States, the Philadelphia company that dominated Chilean import traffic established a sister facility in San Diego during the mid-1980s. The grapes, apples, pears, and cherries entering the San Diego terminal traveled as far as Chicago by truck and train.[59]

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[57] Barriga et al., *The Fruit and Vegetable Export Sector of Chile*, 19-20; Casaburi, *Dynamic Production Systems in Newly-Liberalizing Developing Countries*, 47-68.
[58] Pirog, "Grape Expectations"; Goldfrank, "Fresh Demand," in Gereffi and Korzeniewicz, eds., *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism*, 267-79.
[59] Greg Johnson, "Plan to Ship Fruit to S.D. Port Would Add 40 Jobs," *Los Angeles Times,* December 4, 1985.

Although most Chilean produce is shipped by sea, air freighted fruit has also made its mark. Before the 1970s, fresh fruits and vegetables rarely traveled by air. Airline and agriculture executives first truly dreamed of air freighting fresh produce by the ton during World War II, when the airline industry dramatically expanded.[60] In 1944, as Henry Ford's Willow Run plant in Detroit cranked out new bombers, the executives organized a conference nearby to discuss the results of their study of the "Air Cargo Potential in Fresh Fruits and Vegetables." To sell conference attendees on air cargo's wonders, they held a luncheon to provide a "dramatic demonstration of how the Age of Flight may affect the dietary habits and gustatory experiences of the American people." The menu was "unique" and "exotic," for it featured "such rarities as tree-ripened bananas, breadfruit, and papayas" flown directly from Guatemala, Mexico, Cuba, and the southern United States. Because airplanes at the time had limited range, the conference focused on shipments from California, Florida, and Texas to the Northeast and Midwest. Several speakers highlighted the benefits of shipping vine-ripened produce, because at the time, tomatoes and bananas were picked green and ripened in special warehouses in destination cities. Another speaker lauded the health benefits of air shipped produce, citing a Department of Agriculture study that showed a marked decline in Vitamin C content for fruits and vegetables as they sat in refrigeration; a bunch of freshly picked

[60] The U.S produced a fantastic sum of 299,293 aircraft during the war, whereas only a small fraction had been produced before. David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 653-55.

strawberries delivered 74 milligrams of Vitamin C, but when the strawberries sat refrigerated for 5 days, their vitamin content slipped to 17 milligrams.[61]

Dreams of air-shipped produce did not come to fruition immediately, for certain technical advances were necessary for large-scale shipments. The development of the long-distance airliner in 1958 and the wide-body jet in 1967 made international passenger and cargo travel easier and cheaper. Air freight dramatically increased in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly in the North Atlantic market, but the airlines did not carry much fresh produce. At the time, airline holds were reserved for high-value items, such as artwork, jewelry, and legal documents, and as late as 1970, the winter peach was still something for the imagination.[62] The leading grocery industry magazine previewed the 1970s by explaining that "lower-cost air freight will make tropical fruits and imported produce available in all markets, and lead to a special section for exotic new lines is some units," adding that guavas would be sold on the East Coast and "vine-ripened tomatoes will be sold in Minnesota in January."[63] The plans hatched in the fervor of World War II only become a reality by the end of the century, when on a bitterly cold January day a Chicago supermarket shopper wouldn't blink an eye at an overflowing bin of peaches, nectarines

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[61] Wayne State University researchers published their study in December 1943. The conference was convened in March 1944 with the various industry, government, and academic representatives. The study is Spencer A. Larsen, *Air Cargo Potential in Fresh Fruits and Vegetables* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1944). Conference speeches are collected in N. Stanley Oates, ed. *Outlook for Air Cargo in Fresh Produce* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1944), vi-vii, 78-82, 88-89.

[62] On the general technological advances in air transportation, see Rigas Doganis, *Flying off Course: The Economics of International Airlines,* 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 9-14; John E. Richards, "Toward a Positive Theory of International Organizations: Regulating International Aviation Markets," *International Organization* 53.1 (1999): 25-27. Air freight in the North Atlantic market increased from 10,938 tons in 1955 to 331,049 tons in 1968.

[63] "37th Annual Report: What Super Markets Will Sell in the 1970s," *Progressive Grocer*, April 1970, 148-9.

and grapes.[64] Indeed, by the end of the twentieth century, air freight had made significant inroads; in 1993, 29 percent of U.S. exports and 21 percent of imports by value were transacted by air.[65] The prediction for the 1970s had come true, albeit a couple decades later.

For the year 2000, LAN Chile, the major Chilean airline, was one of only two passenger airlines in the world that devoted most of its tonnage to freight. This freight was mostly fish, fruit, vegetables, and flowers, proving quite profitable for the airline.[66] In particular, fragile and high-value fruits, such as raspberries and cherries, are air-shipped from Chile during the winter. Predictably, during the weeks that Chilean, American, or Mexican growers could not guarantee fruit shipments to grocers, farmers in other regions filled the void. Beginning in the 1990s, Guatemalan growers developed a niche trade in raspberries for short windows of opportunity during the spring and fall.[67]

Consistency and Variety in the Supermarket

[64] On the shipments of fresh peaches and nectarines to the U.S. market, Pollack and Calvin, *U.S.-Mexico Fruit and Vegetable Trade*, *1970-92*, 119.
[65] Krugman et al., "Growing World Trade: Causes and Consequences," 364.
[66] This figure excludes freight-only airlines, such as FedEx and UPS. Korean Airlines was the other airline that trafficked mostly freight, but significantly, other Asian carriers such as Cathay Pacific, China Eastern, and JAL had large freight percentages. So too did major transatlantic carriers such as Lufthansa and Air France. Freight accounted for about 30 percent of total traffic worldwide among International Air Transport Association Members. Doganis, *Flying off Course*, 23, 149; Boeing company, "LanChile Adds Three Boeing 767-300 Freighters to its Fleet," Press Release, at http://www.boeing.com/news/releases/2000/news_release_001218a.html (accessed June 21, 2007); LAN Airlines, S.A., *Annual Report 2006*, http://plane.lan.com/files/about-us/lanchile/memoria2006.pdf (accessed June 21, 2007), 4-5, 40-41.
[67] Huang, *Global Trade Patterns*, 17-21.

The shipment of off-season fruits and vegetables to areas far and wide speaks to a desire for consistency on the part of the consumer.[68] Large food processors and chain restaurants strenuously try to achieve that consistency, for it is one of the principal benefits of a chain. In the 1960s, the Stouffer's company operated a chain of restaurants in addition to selling frozen foods in supermarkets. On one restaurant menu it explained that its creamed chicken entrée was "prepared in small batches," but that "every batch must be exactly the same, so that you may enjoy in your homes the dependability of our quality."[69] Similarly, in 1986, McDonald's explained in its corporate literature that it used shortening for its fries to achieve the "consistency and taste our customers the world over have come to expect."[70] Wanting the same dependability of experience they have in a McDonald's drive-thru or when purchasing a frozen dinner, American consumers want good grapes in their supermarket basket whether they shop in February, when no grape could grow in the U.S., or August, when they are shipped from California.[71] Shoppers in Taiwan, Australia, and Malaysia also desire grapes on a year-round basis, and California growers export grapes to those countries in late summer.[72] That this demand is a

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[68] On growing consumer demand for fruits and vegetables in the period after the 1960s, see Susan L. Pollack, "Consumer Demand for Fruit and Vegetables: The U.S. Example," in Anita Regmi ed., *Changing Structure of Global Food Consumption and Trade/WRS-01-1* (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 2001), 49-54.
[69] Luncheon Menu, The Stouffer Corporation, circa 1960, CCSF, Folder - Chains, General Menu, USA; Stouffer's, "About Us," http://www.stouffers.com/Index/AboutUs.aspx (accessed August 28, 2007).
[70] *McDonald's Food: The Facts* (Oak Brook, IL: McDonald's Corporation, 1986), 7, in CCSF, Folder - Chains, General Menu, USA; Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*, 6.
[71] On grape growing seasons, see California Table Grape Commission, "Commodity Fact Sheet: Table Grapes," http://www.cfaitc.org/Commodity/pdf/TableGrapes.pdf (accessed June 22, 2007); Pablo M. Vial, Carlos H. Crisosto, and Gayle M. Crisosto, "Early Harvest Delays Berry Skin Browning of 'Princess' Table Grapes," *California Agriculture* 59.2 (2005), http://calag.ucop.edu/0502AMJ/pdfs/GrapeBrowning.pdf (accessed June 22, 2007), 104.
[72] Australia opened its market for U.S. table grape exporters in 2002 after many years of negotiations. Agnes Perez, "Grape Expectations: Abundant Quantity, High Quality," *Agricultural Outlook*, December 2002, 10-12.

worldwide phenomenon makes the paradox of diversity and sameness more than just something encountered on American store shelves. Several nations signed trade agreements during the 1990s to enable the consistent shipping of fruits and vegetables year-round. For the 1996-1997 growing season, Taiwan's government responded to consumers' demands for year-round fresh fruits by increasing import quotas of Chilean fruits. In particular, Taiwanese consumers desired apples. American growers shipped $79 million worth of the fruits there that year, and Chilean growers filled additional demand. At the same time, Brazilian consumers were shifting their eating habits in a different direction. As they consumed more pizza, hot dogs and hamburgers, restaurant owners there imported more processed tomato products, mostly in the form of tomato sauces.[73]

The commodification and industrialization of fruit production has had one unfortunate consequence – decreasing biodiversity. The varieties of seed stock held by the U.S. National Seed Storage Laboratory in Colorado dramatically decreased for several fruits and vegetables during the course of the twentieth century. Worldwide, the United Nations estimates that about three-quarters of crop biodiversity vanished in the twentieth century. The problem is so acute that one group recently created the Global Seed Vault, a secure bunker in an arctic Norwegian mountain that is designed to hold and protect millions of varieties of seeds from extinction. The International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources was ratified in 2004 to protect 35 major world crops. Biodiversity has declined mostly because over the last several decades agricultural corporations have

[73] Foreign Agricultural Trade Service, USDA, "World Horticultural Trade and U.S. Export Opportunities, March 1997," http://www.fas.usda.gov/htp2/circular/1997/97-03/mar97htp2.html (accessed July 19, 2007).

preferred to create "superbreeds" of grains, fruits, and vegetables that they distribute widely. Just nine species of plants provide around three-quarters of human food.[74] One type of banana, the Cavendish, dominates the market.[75] And corn is in an immense array of processed foods, including high fructose corn syrup, animal feed, cooking oil, and tortillas. Biologists at the University of California, Berkeley, calculated that most parts of a McDonald's meal for three, which included chicken nuggets, a cheeseburger, fries, sodas, a milk shake, and a salad, were in fact composed of corn. Except the fries and the salad components (but not the dressing), most of the meal's carbon content could be traced to corn. The soda was sweetened with corn syrup, the fries and salad dressing were cooked or composed of corn-derived oil, and the chickens and cows that were turned into nuggets and burgers grew on a corn-heavy diet. Soybeans serve the same purpose as corn, finding their way into thousands of processed foods. As any driver who has passed

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[74] Paul Harrison and Fred Pearce, *AAAS Atlas of Population and the Environment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 58, 160-66. The number of pea seed varieties held at the National Seed Storage Lab in 1903 was 408. In 1983, the U.S. National Seed Storage Laboratory held only 25, or a 93.9 percent decrease. This study bases its analysis partly on data from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Another study disputes FAO data that list a low number of species dominating consumption worldwide. Those authors argue that the FAO uses globally aggregated statistics rather than looking at national supply statistics. Instead, they count at least 100 species that contribute to the diets of most nations, and assert that there are other significant crops, such as turmeric and lemongrass, that are low in relative weight, but important to the food cultures of certain nations because they impart a unique taste. See Robert and Christine Prescott-Allen, "How Many Plants Feed the World?," *Conservation Biology* 4.4 (1990): 365-74. The estimate of three-quarters of species having disappeared and information on the Global Seed Vault can be found in Elisabeth Rosenthal, "Near Arctic, Seed Vault is a Fort Knox of Food," *New York Times*, February 29, 2008. On the treaty ratification, see Legal Office, Food and Agriculture Organization, United Nations, "International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture," at http://www.fao.org/legal/TREATIES/033s-e.htm (accessed March 1, 2008). The treaty itself is at ftp://ftp.fao.org/ag/cgrfa/it/ITPGRe.pdf (accessed March 1, 2008). On the United States involvement in the treaty, Kelly Day-Rubenstein and Paul Helsey, "Plant Genetic Resources: New Rules for International Exchange," *Amber Waves*, June 2003, http://www.ers.usda.gov/AmberWaves/June03/Features/PlantGeneticResources.htm (accessed March 1, 2008).

[75] Ron Harpell, review of *Banana Wars: Power, Production and History in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) by Steve Striffler and Mark Moberg eds., *Business History Review* 79.3 (2005): 661-64.

through Illinois or Iowa in the last few decades knows, the land there is composed of corn and soybeans as far as the eye can see. That Corn Belt has quite far-reaching effects on the American diet as a whole, meaning that there is a hidden sameness of corn in all those regions outside the heartland. Americans ate plenty of that corn- and soybean- infused fast food. By one estimate, at the end of the twentieth century, one in four Americans visited a fast food chain each day, and the average American ate about three hamburgers and four orders of French fries per week, mostly from those chains. Gazing upon the masses of Miami, Chicago, or Los Angeles, one can imagine millions of people morphing into walking corn and soybean stalks.[76]

Paradoxically, however, despite the ubiquitous nature of corn and soybeans in our lives, another trend of the past several decades has been expanding eating choices. Four times as many types of goods arrived at American ports and airstrips in 2002 as compared to 1972, as the share of imports as a percentage of GDP more than doubled during that period, increasing from 4.8 to 11.5 percent.[77] Some economists studying American trade patterns have concluded that "consumers value variety," thereby encouraging trade flows. They have also found that more product choice meant more real

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[76] On corn, see Pollan, *The Omnivore's Dilemma*, 1-119. Pollan asked scientists at UC Berkeley to "run a McDonald's meal through [a] mass spectrometer and calculate how much of the carbon in it came originally from a corn plant." The topic of biodiversity and globalization is among the most controversial in the globalization debates of the 1990s and beyond, generating intense debate about the function of large corporations in the global marketplace. See lectures by Vandana Shiva, Tom Lovejoy, and John Browne, delivered for BBC Radio in 2000, "Reith Lectures 2000, Respect for the Earth" http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/reith_2000/default.stm (accessed August 13, 2007). On the sameness of commodified corn and other crops, see Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 98-147. Fast food consumption estimates cited by Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*, 3, 6. See also Mark D. Jekanowski, "Causes and Consequences of Fast Food Sales Growth," *Food Review* 22.1 (1999): 11-16, http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/foodreview/jan1999/frjan99b.pdf (accessed January 4, 2007).

[77] Levinson, *The Box*, 3.

income for Americans during the last few decades of the twentieth century.[78] So even if corn and its homogenizing counterpart, the soybean, were used in thousands of homegrown products, the world's bounty came to the United States too over the last three decades of the twentieth century, introducing a new variety of sorts. Produce was shipped long distances across oceans not just because it could, but also because mass immigration gave companies a reason to ship it. The Asians and Latin Americans coming to the United States in record numbers after the 1960s sought more of the foods familiar to them in their home countries. And large supermarket chains, in an attempt to widen their business and compete with the superstores that began to dominate the market by the 1990s, actively marketed ethnic foods of all sorts, including fruits and vegetables, to all customers.

Together then, the movement of people and goods in and out of the United States made diversity a buzzword, even as the homogenizing effect of Americanization abroad made globalization a buzzword too.[79] In American fruit and vegetable consumption, globalization and its subset, mass immigration, created a paradox of diversity and sameness. Americans ate a greater variety of fruits and vegetables even as they ate ever-higher proportions of just two vegetables, corn and soybeans, in the form of fast food or processed food. This sameness in diversity was experienced after the 1960s in the aisles of the biggest supermarket chains that came to dominate their regional markets by the end of the century. One could buy bok choy, cilantro, or seven types of apples in the typical

[78] Christian Broda and David Weinstein, "Globalization and the Gains from Variety," (Working Paper 10314, Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2004), quote on p. 1.
[79] On diversity as a buzzword for marketers and businesses, see Halter, *Shopping for Identity*.

store by 2000, but that store was remarkably similar to others in the area, with its McDonald's franchise within and its Frito-Lay snack displays dominating one aisle just as an array of other processed foods did so in other aisles.[80] Diversity and homogeneity existed together in the American supermarket, which was but a snapshot of the wider American experience.

[80] There were over 900 McDonald's franchises in just Wal-Mart's and gas stations in the late 1990s, Jekanowski, "Causes and Consequences of Fast Food Sales Growth," 11. Frito-Lay was one of the largest food processors in the world, and the "fastest-growing" segment of the larger PepsiCo. It sold goods in around 120 countries in 2005. Benjamin Senauer and Luciano Venturini, "The Globalization of Food Systems: A Conceptual Framework and Empirical Patterns," (St. Paul: The Food Industry Center, University of Minnesota, 2005), http://agecon.lib.umn.edu/cgi-bin/pdf_view.pl?paperid=15899&ftype=.pdf (accessed August 16, 2007), 18.

Chapter 2

Burgers and Bok Choy at the Local Safeway:

The Paradox of Sameness and Diversity in the American Supermarket

Through supermarkets, this chapter examines how American food choices simultaneously diversified and homogenized after the 1960s. Although it would seem impossible for diversity and homogeneity to occur together, that is precisely what happened with the food shopping experience. Through the marketing of ethnic foods by grocery chains, one can see how food choices expanded rapidly at the local supermarket. One can also see that supermarket operators struggled with how they should best market ethnic foods, for they tried to capture both the rapidly increasing immigrant populations and the non-immigrants who were an even larger customer base. Even as the variety of foods at the average supermarket increased, those supermarkets were becoming more and more alike. Supermarket chains consolidated and grabbed larger regional market shares. One-stop shopping took hold, and by the end of the twentieth century Americans typically bought most of their foods at one massive superstore. That superstore was strikingly similar to other supermarkets within driving distance too. Supermarket chains also grew across borders, meaning that consumers in Mexico or China could shop at Wal-Mart or other chains, just as they would in the United States. And because immigration increased dramatically after the 1960s, many consumers *did* in fact shop at the same chains in and out of the United States, for they traveled among nations. Those consumers experienced both diversity and sameness in the local American supermarket at the end of

the twentieth century, for they were able to buy burgers and bok choy in a single trip – an unlikely experience forty years prior.

The diversification of food choices was partly a function of the increased global trade described in the previous chapter. As shipping methods improved, all sorts of products that had not been available in American stores were there at the end of the twentieth century. In 1960, the average supermarket carried 5,900 items, but by 1998 that number had grown to 40,333.[1] Greater product choice was also a deliberate strategy employed by supermarkets to address two issues. First, supermarket chains, like other businesses, searched for ever-new methods for growth. Because publicly traded companies must always search for ways to grow, the chains theorized that they could increase revenues by selling ethnic foods.[2] Second, after the 1960s, the chains slowly sought to capture business from the growing population of immigrants and their descendants. Because the chains tried to capture business from immigrants and the native-born, the sales category of ethnic food was often conflated with two other categories, specialty and gourmet. Of course, some ethnic foods were not typically labeled gourmet, as in the case of the humble tortilla, but even that changed over time, as many "peasant" foods became gourmet so that operators could charge higher prices for

[1] This point is covered in detail below. Many more of those products were associated with Latin American and Asian foods. See Table 1.1 for the increasing number of products in grocery stores over time.
[2] On the growth imperative in the American economy, see R. Glenn Hubbard, "An Agenda for Global Growth," December 6, 2002, http://www.whitehouse.gov/cea/agenda_for_global_growth_dec6_2002.pdf (accessed September 6, 2007). On the imperative of growth in the food industry see "Grocery Stores," *Encyclopedia of American Industries*. Online Edition (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Group, 2006), http://galenet.galegroup.com.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048/servlet/BCRC (accessed April 25, 2006); Heller and McTaggart, "The Search for Growth," *Progressive Grocer*, April 15, 2004, 31-41.

them.[3] Greater availability of ethnic foods at the supermarket was not a strategy wholly devised by the chains. Consumers demanded ethnic foods too, and supermarkets were giving them what they wanted. But even as they demanded greater variety, American consumers also demanded a shopping experience that felt familiar and comfortable. So what exactly did consumers and supermarket operators want? Greater product choice? One-stop shopping? Exotic or authentic foods? Americanized, familiar versions of ethnic foods? They wanted all of these things, and they got them too.

Globalization, and its subset, immigration, made all these desires simultaneously possible. For the purposes here, I borrow a definition of globalization as the "growing interchange of influence across increasingly porous national borders."[4] If one measures the array of goods and people coming into and out of the United States, these interchanges of influence increased in the last few decades of the twentieth century.[5] By examining globalization's impact on American eating habits, this chapter describes the central paradox of globalization itself, one that is also a cultural paradox in American society. Globalization brings both diversity and sameness. In this study, I examine how Americans have dealt with the incredible diversity of cultural experiences that have been brought on by globalization. But globalization has had another effect. The world's peoples share more, for they are less isolated, and this study examines those connections

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[3] One example of the changing use of tortillas in the United States is Karen Howarth, *Gourmet Tortillas: Exotic and Traditional Tortilla Dishes* (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 2000), 2-9. Howarth's cookbook included orange tortillas with Montmorency cherries, lavender tortillas with garlic chives, and sunny-side up fried rice over tortillas.

[4] Mark Atwood Lawrence, *Assuming the Burden: Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California, 2005), ix.

[5] Keohane and Nye, Jr., "Globalization: What's New?" in Held and McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader*, 75-79.

too. The fact that people outside of the United States are exposed to American fast food, hamburgers, and rock and roll has been documented extensively in the globalization literature.[6] Though I discuss at some length how the world is sharing American culture through food, that is not the focus here. More of this chapter and this dissertation are concerned with how Americans partook in more of the world by way of the globalization of foodstuffs and eating habits. Unlike most globalization studies, this one is primarily about how the world has changed America.[7]

The world's impact came in part through a reordering of America's racial and ethnic makeup. During the period examined here, 1966 to 2006, the U.S. population grew from 200 million to 300 million. The dramatic rise resulted from a combination of births, deaths, immigration and emigration, and changes in life expectancy and fertility levels. Notably, one estimate found that the 100 million person growth was about 36 percent Hispanic, 34 percent white, 16 percent black, and 13 percent Asian/Pacific Islander. The high growth numbers for Hispanics and Asians, especially relative to their overall population, was due to the growth in immigrants and their U.S.-born offspring, which

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[6] See for example, Alfred E. Eckes, Jr., and Thomas W. Zeiler, *Globalization and the American Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Walter LaFeber, *Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002); G. John Ikenberry, "Globalization as American Hegemony," in David Held and Anthony McGrew eds., *Globalization Theory: Approaches and Controversies* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2007); Benjamin R. Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001); Richard J. Barnet and John Cavanaugh, *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994); James Davison Hunter and Joshua Yates, "In the Vanguard of Globalization: The World of American Globalizers," in Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington eds., *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 323-57.

[7] Kristin L. Hoganson persuasively establishes the world's impact on America in the late 1800s and early 1900s by looking at food, fashion, and a variety of other consumptive activities in *Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). She notes that the vast majority of studies for that period instead concern America's impact abroad.

accounted for roughly 55 percent of the increase in four decades.[8] Put another way, recent immigration, coming mostly from Latin America and Asia, has been the major driver of population growth in the United States during the late twentieth century, and in turn, has initiated major changes to American consumption and culture. These changes can be seen clearly in the supermarket shopping experience.

Prelude: Sameness in the Mid-Century Supermarket

The story told here is one about ethnic marketing and its role in creating increased choices in the American supermarket after the 1960s. In order to see how much the foods in the average supermarket changed after the 1960s, a snapshot of the middle-century grocery store is necessary. Grocery store shopping had been rather unadventurous in the 1950s and 1960s. Ethnic food sections were usually confined to a small area for Italian and/or Chinese foods, and one could find some of the same foods in the freezer case. *Progressive Grocer*, the main industry trade magazine, ran a "Store of the Month" article in each issue that included an architectural diagram of the store in question. Diagrams from the early 1970s show a variety of layouts but a tendency toward small ethnic food sections in most stores. A Houston, Texas, store profiled in 1971 was fairly typical. It had a small section of one aisle reserved for Chinese foods, macaroni, and spaghetti. Otherwise, the store did not have any special ethnic sections. To be sure, some foods that had once been labeled ethnic, such as pickles, became mainstream enough to warrant no

[8] These estimates come from the Pew Hispanic Center, "Fact Sheet: From 200 Million to 300 Million: The Numbers Behind Population Growth," http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/25.pdf (accessed March 20, 2008). The report explains that it made some "assumptions and projections" for its calculations, but even then, the numbers are fairly consistent with other studies.

ethnic designation.[9] Even if this was the case, supermarkets still put little emphasis on ethnic, specialty, or gourmet foods.

Although product variety has grown rather steadily since the inception of chain stores in the 1920s, increasing variety was not necessarily of the cultural or ethnic type in the 1950s and 1960s. In that era, food processing was king, as corporations and scientists unabashedly promoted product differentiation by dint of new food technologies. One industry observer called the 1950s the "golden age" of the supermarket, adding that they were ideal venues for food manufacturers and suppliers to expose the public to their innovations. Supermarkets "presented [processors] a direct invitation to develop new products and new sizes in food lines."[10] Appropriately enough, General Foods chose a marketing expert as its new president in 1954.[11] Manufacturers needed new things to market, and they turned to their research and development teams for direction. In response, food chemists worked on additives to enhance "mouth feel" in processed foods causing one General Foods executive to remark, "we are gradually moving toward a

[9] Leonard Daykin, "Randall's Super is Houston's Newest 'Tranquility' Base," *Progressive Grocer*, February 1970, 122-32. The store measured 22,400 square feet. Other stores that fit this mold included a 22,000 square foot Food Fair Quality/Discount store in Williamsburg, VA, that had an ethnic foods section comprising a fifth of an aisle, the same size as the pickles section. The store also had a macaroni products section taking half of an aisle. Stephen Ackley, "Colonial Williamsburg Sets Mood for New Food Fair," *Progressive Grocer,* March 1970, 145-52. Another was the Martin's Super Market in Elkhart, IN, at 25,600 square feet. It had a gourmet section that was 15 feet long, a Chinese section of about 12 feet between the diet and convenience sections, and a Mexican and Jewish section of about 15 feet. See Gerry Beatty, "Tight Scheduling Makes Martin's More Productive," *Progressive Grocer*, February 1975.

[10] Robert W. Mueller, "5 Decades that Revolutionized the Food Industry," *Progressive Grocer*, June 1972, 29.

[11] Mueller, "5 Decades that Revolutionized the Food Industry," 19-38. This article also lists the number of items on store shelves for each decade. That number was 3,750 in 1950, 5,900 in 1960, and 7,800 in 1970, meaning it more than doubled over the two decades. Harvey Levenstein called his chapter about food in 1950s America "The Golden Age of Food Processing" in *Paradox of Plenty*, 101-18.

world of designed consumer foods."[12] Food processing journals argued that convenience foods were cheaper than fresh foods and took that argument abroad. The USDA and the Grocery Manufacturer's Association together held a trade show in Germany in 1963 to promote American processors.[13] These companies invented, marketed, and sold many more brands of foods, but many were simply not all that different. They may have contained a distinctive size, shape, or color to make them seem different from the other processed goods on the shelves, but they were often basically similar.[14]

The sameness of store offerings can be seen in the recipes and food tips offered by *Safeway News*, a magazine for the grocery chain's employees. One article suggested that a hot dog need not only be served for lunch and dinner – it was a suitable breakfast food too. That same article counseled parents that they could serve hamburgers and peanut butter sandwiches to children who were otherwise unwilling to eat breakfast. That was as "unorthodox" as the publication would be – serving hot dogs and hamburgers at the wrong time of day.[15] Another column told readers that it was possible for a housewife to serve ground beef for dinner seven nights a week, because "chances are they won't

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[12] The executive was V.D. Ludington, vice president of General Foods Corporation, in Henry Schact, "Food Industry's Vast Change," *Safeway News,* September 1968, 4.

[13] The trade show, held in Munich, had a booth jointly sponsored by the USDA and the Grocery Manufacturer's Association, "Food Industry in Focus," and "Convenience Foods," *Food Field Reporter*, August 12, 1963; Another journal, *Management's Food Processing and Marketing*, extols the virtues of industrial processing for food. During 1966, the magazine ran monthly "spotlight" issues for the industry. The spotlights for January through April were on computers, sanitary design, cryogenic freezing, and packaging.

[14] Levenstein makes this point in *Paradox of Plenty*, quoting from David Riesman's *Abundance for What? And Other Essays* to note that even the upper classes practiced a policy of "'conspicuous underconsumption,' which meant serving more or less the same food as everyone else," 117. He argues also that this partly came from a belief on the part of Americans that they were at the top of the world in all respects, and that their food needed few changes as a result.

[15] "Home Hints," *Safeway News*, March 1965, 17.

even realize they're being served the same meat night after night if you follow these suggestions from the American Meat Institute… By the seventh night, the family *may* begin to yearn for steak or pork chops, but they *may* not even have missed them!"[16] While the American Meat Institute had good reason to push everyday ground beef, Safeway liked the idea too. Turkey curry was about as adventurous as many eaters got with everyday food, and only as a way to use leftovers from Thanksgiving and Christmas. Curry powder gave an exotic touch to an otherwise run-of-the-mill dinner. Besides the fact that turkey is rarely eaten in Asian countries, the recipe was a distinctly American concoction of turkey, apples, onion, garlic (one clove only) and but one teaspoon of curry powder, complemented by heavy doses of butter and milk.[17]

The foods carried in grocery stores were to change starting in the 1960s, for as immigrants entered the United States in increasing numbers from Latin America and Asia, they demanded more of the fruits and vegetables that were familiar or essential to their home cuisines, thereby introducing those ingredients to other Americans. Even as Safeway's corporate-sanctioned recipes featured few ingredients that its readers would call exotic, the company was trumpeting its international operations and imported foods in corporate literature. Two locations – an "international store" in downtown Washington D.C., and the company's flagship store in the Marina district of San Francisco – were favorite places for foreign visitors in the mid-1960s. The Marina location was even on a regular State Department tour of San Francisco. Those stores were a part of Safeway's

[16] "Home Hints," *Safeway News,* May 1968, 17, emphasis in the original.
[17] "Home Hints," *Safeway News,* December 1965, 8. Curry powder had long been a common item in American pantries, Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium*, 110, 114.

promotions precisely because they were unique and at the leading edge, despite the firm's "bustling import department."[18] It would be over a decade before the chain seriously rethought its ethnic food holdings, and its imported goods, including fruits and vegetables, increased significantly.

Part I: Ethnic Marketing after the 1960s

As grocery store managers were just beginning to seek new business by way of new imports and immigrant cuisines in the 1960s and 1970s, a broader development in American business practices contributed to widening product choice – market segmentation strategies. In the middle decades of the twentieth century, companies marketed to the masses by selling the same dish soap or sliced bread to all consumers, whether they were black or white, rich or poor, city or country folk. This strategy continued just after World War II, but in short time, businesses worried that they would drive each other out of competition if they did not distinguish their customer bases. As historian Lizabeth Cohen has described, it was during the 1950s that business journals first advised companies to tailor their marketing campaigns to specific segments of the consuming public, for they could no longer sell to the masses.[19] One *Harvard Business*

[18] *Annual Report, Safeway Stores, Inc*. (Oakland, CA: Safeway Stores, Inc., 1966).
[19] Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*, 292-344. Cohen cites two articles as critical early elaborations of market segmentation. Wendell Smith, "Product Differentiation and Market Segmentation as Alternative Marketing Strategies," *Journal of Marketing* 21.1, (1956): 3-8, and Pierre Martineau, "Social Classes and Spending Behavior," *Journal of Marketing* 23.2 (1958): 121-30. See also, Harper W. Boyd, Jr. and Sidney J. Levy, "New Dimension in Consumer Analysis," *Harvard Business Review* 41.6, (1963): 129-40; Daniel Yankelovich, "New Criteria for Market Segmentation," *Harvard Business Review* 42.2 (1964): 83-90; Steven C. Brandt, "Dissecting the Segmentation Syndrome," *Journal of Marketing* 30.4 (1966): 22-27. For an historical overview by Daniel Yankelovich, one of the early theorists of market segmentation strategies,

Review article explained that a "marketer should break his market down into segments that are smaller and more homogeneous than the market as a whole."[20] The article advised that segments could be broken down by a combination of product dimensions such as style, price, or use, or consumer dimensions such as income, education, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status. Additionally, rising incomes would allow marketers to discriminate among various segments, for many products that were "formerly inaccessible" to consumers were then "within reach" of the middle class. Notably, among the products mentioned were imported wines and spirits, specialty foods, and tourism and air travel.[21] Rising incomes meant more Americans would experiment with new cultural forms, including food, whether at the local grocery store or on a trip to Mexico, Italy, or India; from 1947 to 1997, real median income for Americans grew by 58 percent.[22] To this end, Safeway boasted in its 1962 Annual Report that it was trying to "broaden the appeal of shopping at Safeway" by "the development of a program to offer our customers a much wider variety of imported cheeses," which were more expensive and had gourmet appeal.[23] Just a few years later, a sales manager for Kraft explained that foreign and domestic cheeses were each growing in sales because people "move more frequently"

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see Daniel Yankelovich and David Meer, "Rediscovering Market Segmentation," *Harvard Business Review* 84.2 (2006): 122-31.

[20] Robert Mainer and Charles C. Slater, "Markets in Motion," *Harvard Business Review* 42.2 (1964): 82.

[21] Ibid, 77.

[22] Median income for families rose dramatically between 1947 and 1977 but slowed between 1977 and 1997. This slowdown was mitigated in part by the declining size of families in the latter period, which meant breadwinners needed to support fewer family members. Major income disparities continued throughout the last half of the twentieth century when comparing men to women, whites to blacks and/or Hispanics, and the richest quintile of Americans to the poorest. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Measuring 50 Years of Economic Change Using the March Current Population Survey*, *Current Population Reports, P60-203* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1998).

[23] Safeway Stores Inc., *1962 Annual Report* (Oakland, CA: Safeway, Inc., 1962).

and that varieties once sold in delicatessens and "specialty shops" could now be had in supermarkets.[24]

Marketing specialists writing in the early 1960s knew that they could break down segments by ethnicity, but they had little idea that a whole new group of consumers would form a substantial consumer base by the 1970s – the Asian and Latin American immigrants who would enter the United States. Some major companies such as Pepsi and Esso were already marketing to black customers in the 1940s. With the civil rights movement of the 1940s forward, businesses slowly paid greater attention to blacks, and later, other racial and ethnic groups, partly as a way to capture new consumer bases and partly to generate positive corporate images.[25] In the grocery business that meant new campaigns to highlight health and beauty products for blacks and an effort to improve inner city stores in predominantly black neighborhoods. These campaigns took time; one 1977 report said "ethnic merchandising" of facial and hair products was "spreading slowly" nationwide as "Pathmark, A&P, and Winn-Dixie move to win and hold black customers."[26] Still, at the time, many retailers did not "appreciate" the sales category, partly because it was difficult to operate wholesale facilities that could process merchandise that might be sold only in the small number of stores with a large number of

[24] Tom Carrato, national product sales manager for processed cheese at Kraftco's Kraft Division, quoted in "Dairy Products Display New Vitality," *Progressive Grocer*, September 1970, 144-46.
[25] Halter, *Shopping for Identity*, 42-44. Halter covers many of the same themes concerning ethnic marketing extensively in her book. She explains that "My idea in this book has been to look at the appropriation of ethnicity by businesses, whether ethnic-based or not, as a strategy to sell to wider markets in the United States." This dissertation looks at the appropriation of ethnicity too, but also examines how the supermarket chains struggled with *how* to deal with ethnicity as a factor in an ever-changing marketplace.
[26] Quotes from "Ethnic: Moving to a Faster Beat," in "Health and Beauty Aids Report, 1977," *Progressive Grocer*, August 1977, 73-74

black customers.[27] One marketer said a store should "merit special consideration of black shopping needs," only when blacks composed more than 30 percent of the shoppers.[28] That was hardly a low threshold, meaning if a store's makeup included even ten or fifteen percent black shoppers, they would not be targeted. Improved technologies would allow stores to target much smaller groups in the next few decades, making segmentation strategies much more effective for large chains.[29] One trade publication said that the "buzzword of the 1980s was segmentation," for there was no "typical shopper."[30]

Independents and the New Hispanic and Asian Chains

Unlike the supermarket chains, independent grocers had long marketed to specific ethnic or class segments, adapting to changes in their consumer base. These independents had ten or fewer branches.[31] Jeff Brown ran one independent supermarket during the 1980s in South Philadelphia. He redesigned his store with expanded produce and Asian

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[27] Ibid, 73-74. On the general expansion of marketing campaigns to black consumers in the late 1960s, see Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*, 324-28; From June to December of 1968, *Safeway News*, a corporate publication for employees ran a series of articles about race and Safeway stores in response to tense race relations around the nation. One article portrayed Safeway as a responsible corporation, for it was helping a co-op grocery store in Hunter's Point, a mostly black ghetto of San Francisco, Abel F. Lemes, "Safeway Lends Hand to Failing Co-op," *Safeway News*, June 1968, 2-5. Another article profiled Adam Peters, a black Safeway baker from San Anselmo, CA, by obliquely referring to recent race riots, "Peters will never be mistaken for one of the passionate, angry, young blacks whose resentment of ancient and modern wrongs sometimes overflows with hatred and violence." *Safeway News*, December 1968, 6.

[28] Robert F. Dietrich, "Know Your Black Shopper: Race May be One of Your Least Important Clues," June 1975, 45-46, 52, 56. The next month, the magazine ran its first study of how black shoppers rate various sections of the supermarket.

[29] Jean Kinsey, "A Faster, Leaner, Supply Chain: New Uses of Information Technology," Proceedings Issue, *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 82.5 (2000): 1123-29.

[30] "The History of the Supermarket Industry," in *Progressive Grocer's 1992 Marketing Guidebook*, (no page numbers – inside front cover).

[31] A chain was defined as 11 or more branches, and an independent as 10 or fewer. This definition is used by *Progressive Grocer* and the U.S. government bureaus in their analyses. See for example, "Definitions," *Progressive Grocer*, April 1971, 61.

sections to cater to the neighborhood's long-standing Italian-American population and a recent Asian and Jewish influx. To target his Italian-American customers, he built large displays of canned tomatoes, pastas, olive oils, and broccoli rabe. He also staged events with food samplers based on customer recommendations. Lastly, he saw the Asian foods market as a "growth opportunity," and planned to emphasize Asian foods more as his store matured.[32] Just as Brown targeted his customer base in Philadelphia, so too did Victor Najor, an independent grocer in the San Diego area who targeted Hispanic and Asian customers. In the mid-1980s, as Safeway and Ralph's opened new supermarkets nearby, Najor decided that an expanded seafood section would capture Asian customers. When the Safeway store opened, he bought 1,500 pounds of ginger and priced it low to lure customers away from the chain. And to attract Mexican-American customers, he carried several brands of fresh tortillas and priced eggs, rice, and poultry below cost.[33]

Building on the work of these independent operators, entrepreneurs created supermarkets to target specific ethnic groups during the 1970s. One was the Fiesta Supermarket chain founded in Houston, Texas, in 1972.[34] Its president, Don Bonham, "set out to market to Mexicans" when he opened the first store and they have formed the chain's primary customer base since.[35] The supermarkets were a neighborhood congregation spot for Mexican immigrants, who could grocery shop, bank, and even

[32] Mary Ann Linsen, "Taking Upscale Downtown," *Progressive Grocer*, November 1989, 30-36.
[33] Najor's store was located in National City, which is next to San Diego. "Outstanding Example of Independent Style: Beating California Chains with 50,000 pounds of fish," *Progressive Grocer*, March 1984, 56.
[34] "Your International Store," Fiesta Corporate Web site, http://www.fiestamart.com/ (accessed August 16, 2007).
[35] Erin Sullivan, "A View from the Top," *Progressive Grocer*, February 1988, 47-51.

catch rides back to Mexico with the shuttle services that picked up passengers in store parking lots.[36] The produce sections were distinct features of the Fiesta stores, and their "biggest draw" was "ethnic items" such as nopilitos, cactus leaves, and chilies, said Bonham.[37] Although he targeted Houston's Mexican immigrants, Bonham soon found that his offerings attracted many other ethnic groups, including Taiwanese, Indians, Cubans, Vietnamese, and Koreans in its Houston, Dallas, and Austin locations. In the 1980s, he hired employees from various ethnic backgrounds at one Houston store and charged them with purchasing and display decisions for their areas. Bonham said he was not an "expert on foreign foods" but managed his ethnic food section tightly because it was the "most important" part of the store and his customers expected "variety, variety, variety."[38] He struggled, however with how to distribute some ethnic items that crossed boundaries within the store, wondering if he should keep all curry spice mixtures together or sectionalize them according to type – Indian, Chinese, and the like. Unlike the chain stores that pushed ethnic foods with bright displays, recipe cards and promotional materials from major food processors, Bonham believed that his customers did not need "direction" in their purchasing.[39] When Fiesta expanded to suburban areas populated mostly by whites, however, it changed some of the features of those stores for the "Yuppies who never shopped with us," said Louis Katopodis, general manager for the

[36] "On Weekends and Holidays, Vans Travel to the Border," *New York Times*, October 28, 1984. The vans were collectively called the "Monterrey Express" because most shuttled passengers to that Northern Mexico city.
[37] Sullivan, "A View from the Top," *Progressive Grocer*, February 1988.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.

store, because those customers had not lived in areas of high-immigrant concentrations.[40] In some of the new "upscale" stores, Fiesta installed sushi bars and changed the décor to make it look "high-tech," but continued to emphasize its produce section, including the wide range of ethnic produce, because even in the Anglo stores, "people want to try new things," said Katopodis.[41] Chains in other regions targeted Hispanic customers too, including the Tianguis supermarkets in Southern California.[42]

Asian American ethnic groups could shop at supermarket chains targeted to them beginning in the 1980s too. 99 Ranch was one of the most successful, begun by Taiwanese immigrant Roger Chen. It marketed primarily to Chinese-American shoppers, but also appealed to those of Vietnamese, Korean, Japanese and other heritages.[43] Although small grocery stores had long existed in Chinatowns, Little Saigons, and Mexican barrios to serve immigrant customers, Fiesta and 99 Ranch were distinctive because they were large supermarkets, and in the case of 99 Ranch, were located in the suburbs. Growing from one store in 1984 in the Little Saigon section of Westminster, California, to over twenty by 2001, the 99 Ranch supermarkets typically served as anchors to Chinese or pan-Asian shopping malls in the suburbs of California, Washington, and Georgia. The stores combined the large-store format of American supermarkets with the selection of imported goods theretofore found only in the small

[40] Steve Weinstein, "Fiesta for Everyone," *Progressive Grocer*, September 1989, 48-50.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Marian Burros, "Supermarkets Reach out to Hispanic Customers," *New York Times,* July 18, 1990. Run by the Vons chain, its Tianguis division opened in 1987 but failed in the early 1990s, when most stores were reconverted to regular supermarkets.
[43] The chain is often referred to as Ranch 99 in American media reports, but is called 99 Ranch by its parent Tawa corporation, http://www.99ranch.com/AboutUs.asp (accessed August 17, 2007); Alfred Yee, *Shopping at Giant Foods: Chinese American Supermarkets in Northern California* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 164-65; "Roger's Ranch," *Transpacific*, August 1, 1994.

grocery stores of ethnic enclaves. One anthropologist argued that the chain testifies to a pan-Asian ethnic identity, highlighting a similarity among the various Asian Americans in the United States as seen in their shopping patterns at the 99 Ranch-anchored strip malls.[44] In Northern California, many of these malls were planned by developer Chester Wang, who located them in areas with high concentrations of Asians. The malls had a wide variety of Asian restaurants and other ethnic stores, and Wang argued that these centers show that "marketing goods to Asian consumers makes sense."[45] Although the centers counted primarily ethnic Asian consumers, one could also find many non-Asians feasting on dishes such as Chinese porridge in the supermarkets.[46] On the opposite coast, the Super 88 chain served a similar panorama of Asian foods, but as one *Boston Globe* article remarked, the store had a "diverse mix of shoppers, strikingly unusual for a city like Boston that's notorious for being segregated and tribal." The slogan on the market's Web site was "Eat the World."[47]

The 99 Ranch supermarkets also testify to a transculturalism and transnationalism in the globalization of the last several decades.[48] Shenglin Chang examined the

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[44] Bernard P. Wong, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley: Globalization, Social Networks, and Ethnic Identity* (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 2006), 202-203.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid, 146.
[47] Chris Berdik, "Super Power," *The Boston Globe Magazine*, August 14, 2005. The Super 88 chain was begun in the 1990s by Peter Luu, a Vietnam refugee of Chinese descent who had arrived with his family in the United States in 1979. Slogan at http://www.super88market.com/index.htm# (accessed August 17, 2007). On Asian grocery chains, see Dan Turner, "Market Forces," *Transpacific*, October 1, 1994.
[48] This phenomenon is not entirely new, but it is made different by rapid travel between Asia and the United States. On the transnational connections between China and the United States in an earlier era, see Madeline Y. Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882-1943* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) and Yong Chen, *Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

experiences of Taiwanese who moved back and forth between Taiwan and Silicon Valley. Most were highly educated, middle or upper class, and lived an existence that was part Taiwanese, part American. Some were called "astronauts" because they regularly flew between the United States and Asia, and could, because of their high incomes and professional status, support houses, jobs and families that straddled China, Taiwan, and the United States. The 99 Ranch chain figured prominently in the lives of Taiwanese immigrants in Silicon Valley during the last decade as they sought Chinese foodstuffs from their homeland. The Taiwanese of Silicon Valley shopped at similar stores in Taiwan too. Many of the engineers who walked the aisles of 99 Ranch in Silicon Valley patronized a Carrefour supermarket when they worked or lived in Hsinchu, the center of Taiwan's electronics industry. The Carrefour store in Taiwan had a similar layout to the 99 Ranch stores in Silicon Valley, and for that matter, other American and European supermarkets like Safeway, Target, or Wal-Mart. In 1998, Shenglin Chang attended a Thanksgiving dinner with a Taiwanese family in Cupertino, observing, "there was nothing purely Taiwanese or Californian, Chinese or American, at this Thanksgiving dinner… as different cultural practices intertwined with each other randomly."[49] The turkey had been prepared at the 99 Ranch supermarket using Chinese ingredients. While 99 Ranch's stores and the Taiwanese immigrants themselves contributed to the overall diversity of the United States, those immigrants experienced a certain continuity in their

[49] Shenglin Chang, *The Global Silicon Valley Home: Lives and Landscapes within Taiwanese American Trans-Pacific Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 88.

consumption habits from Taiwan to the United States and back.[50] It would not be surprising to see Thanksgiving turkey appear on the Hsinchu Carrefour's shelves one day too. This continuity of experience across nations is partly because the large supermarket chains like Safeway specifically began targeting the Taiwanese and Chinese immigrants too after the 1970s, hoping to capture some of their business. They also wanted to profit from the burgeoning demand for all ethnic foods after the 1960s.

How the Big Supermarket Chains Marketed Ethnicity

From the 1960s forward, supermarket chains and their suppliers realized they could profit by using market segmentation strategies to target parts of their customer base just as independents had. If a storeowner knew a lot of Mexican immigrants lived nearby, he might advertise in Spanish-language circulars, put his tortilla case prominently at the front-end of the bread aisle, and have regular sales on beans and tomatoes to attract customers. This is not to say that ethnic or segmented marketing was a completely new strategy for the food businesses in the 1950s and 1960s.[51] Independent or small-chain grocery stores had always tried to target their customer base, and food is one consumption area that is already strongly segmented by ethnicity, unlike dish soap. Prior

[50] Chang, *The Global Silicon Valley Home*, esp. 86-122; On globalization's effects on the Chinese in Asia and the Bay Area, see also Wong, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley*; AnnaLee Saxenian, *Local and Global Networks of Immigrant Professionals in Silicon Valley* (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2002) and *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs*; Jeff Goodell, "The Venture Capitalist in my Bedroom," *New York Times*, May 28, 2000.

[51] George Sanchez has argued that ethnic marketing, "usually considered a recent phenomena, has long-standing roots" in the 1920s by showing that entrepreneurs in Los Angeles sold a wide range of goods targeted specifically to the city's Mexican-American consumer market in *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 171-87 (quote on p. 174). See also Halter, *Shopping for Identity*, 25-47.

to the 1950s, these small ethnically-targeted purveyors had imported hard-to-find produce, meats, and canned goods for their particular customer base. Some non-ethnic businesses capitalized on differences among ethnic groups, but for the most part, when it came to market segmentation, most companies only divided their customer bases by income. Large food manufacturers and chain stores expected that Americans of all stripes would eat some version of similar foods. And many immigrant foods were homogenized to broaden their appeal – the most important case in point is that of Italian food, which became the pizza and pasta parade. In sum, prior to the 1960s, food processors and large supermarket chains sought to attract various immigrant groups regardless of the food habits they carried from their homelands.[52]

Independent operators might have long marketed to specific immigrant and ethnic groups, but it was only in the 1960s that the chains first sought higher revenues through market segmentation analyses.[53] In 1970, *Progressive Grocer* undertook an in-depth study, "How Different Customers Shop the Modern Super Market," focused on the largest supermarket chain at the time, A&P.[54] The study was commissioned to give readers guidance about the major grocery trend at the time – the expansion of superstores, which sold many more items than traditional supermarkets. The study's author's argued that the operation of superstores necessitated "greater knowledge and insight" about

[52] On the homogenizing and nationalizing of the American diet, see Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*, 27-39, 90-100; Halter, *Shopping for Identity* 42.
[53] Marilyn Halter addresses these themes in a chapter from *Shopping for Identity*, using Kosher and other foods as case studies, 104-116. She does not, however, fully extend her analysis to the paradox of diversity and sameness inherent in the changes in eating habits over the course of the last few decades.
[54] As measured by sales, A&P was the largest, followed by Safeway and Kroger. "75 Leading Grocery Chains and Stores Operated for the Years 1969, 1968 and 1967," *Progressive Grocer,* April 1970, 66-67.

customers. They saw that grocers "increasingly questioned policies which call for cookie-cutter similarities: the same stores, the same lines, the same brands, the same ratio of employees to sales, regardless of the nature of the community and store clientele." For this reason, the magazine and A&P endeavored to "learn more about its customers" by categorizing them and analyzing their differences. The study also previewed the trend that Wal-Mart would take up with gusto – using data about purchasing to manage inventory efficiently. For their study of Detroit-area A&P stores, the authors ended up with seven categories of shoppers: Negro, Apartment Dweller, Young Family, Upper Income, Blue Collar, Small Town, and Discount.[55]

The upper income category foreshadowed the direction of eating trends most closely, for it harkened to purchases of more specialty, exotic, and convenience items. The study said the upper income customer was on the "vanguard in the revolution of tastes." Understandably, grocery operators sought to capture the market for such shoppers, for they had the most to spend and were a "constantly growing segment of the population."[56] The survey illustrated the fact that leisure spending rose substantially in the 1960s and 1970s.[57] Foods once reserved for the upper classes became available to the common man, even as new niche operators targeted the wealthy. Between 1920 and 1970, food costs for American consumers rose 87 percent, but per capita income grew by 502 percent, meaning money spent on food could extend to far more than staples, even

[55] "How Different Customers Shop the Modern Super Market" *Progressive Grocer*, October 1970, 35-70.
[56] Ibid, 36-39.
[57] See table, "Expenditure Share for Non-Necessities," in U.S. Department of Labor, *100 Years of Consumer Spending*, 57.

for middle-income shoppers.[58] The A&P survey showed upper income shoppers buying more frozen foods, a fact that generated excitement for the study authors because frozen foods best brought "together" the trends in food purchasing. The upper-income shopper searched for "variety" and had "wide tastes for family eating and entertainment," causing her to buy more frozen cakes and pastries – ideal for sustaining partygoers. She also had more "exotic tastes" which pushed her near the top in purchases of Chinese, Mexican, and Italian, and other "nationality foods," illustrating the place for ethnic foods among the growing specialty and exotic foods market.[59]

So it was around the late 1970s and early 1980s supermarket chains began to market "ethnic" and specialty foods both to ethnics and non-ethnics. The way these chains identified ethnics typically depended on locale. Some used broad terms – Asians, Eastern Europeans, or Hispanics. Others targeted specific groups, such as Mexicans or the Chinese or Italians. More typically, however, during the 1970s and 1980s, chains picked specific ethnic foods and attempted to sell them both to people of that ethnicity and a wider selection of customers. This was a strategy that moved beyond food to other areas of consumption, such as travel. In 1982, Hofstra business school members studied New York City's Italian, Jewish, Polish, Chinese, and Korean markets to see how airlines, banks, and newspapers could target their marketing strategies to these sectors. The author who studied airline travel to Italy concluded that

> Ethnic marketing can be used in conjunction with business establishments to create trends in fashion, food, recreation or whatever. Intricate

[58] Mueller, "5 Decades that Revolutionized the Food Industry," 60.
[59] "How Different Customers Shop the Modern Super Market" *Progressive Grocer*, October 1970, 41.

> knowledge of ethnic habits, styles and culture may be used in creating an ambiance or mystical image which can then be marketed to the general public. Bloomingdales in New York, with support from Air India, (Your Fantasy Begins with Air India: Flights of Fantasy) have developed an 'India, the Ultimate Fantasy' promotional campaign. Other ethnic identities may also be capitalized upon using similar strategy. As can be seen here, ethnic marketing does not only pertain to ethnics.[60]

As the author explained, Air India, which had primarily served immigrant Indians before, expanded its marketing strategy to include wealthy New Yorkers who might want to travel to a "fantasy" land. If Air India could market to non-ethnic customers, Alitalia, TWA, or other airlines with routes between the U.S. and Italy could too. As airline travel became less expensive and travel businesses marketed their wares more widely and in more targeted pitches, a broader spectrum of American customers could travel to Italy, India, or elsewhere.[61] Those customers need not even travel across the oceans for ethnic experiences, for in food, they could quite literally consume at home. Furthermore, their consumption of ethnic foods could be an everyday experience rather than a once a year vacation; after all most people eat a few times a day and shop at a grocery store a couple times a week.[62] The extension of ethnic marketing to the masses was most visible and affecting through food.

Diversity and sameness then worked hand in hand in the marketing of ethnic foods. By offering many more product choices, supermarket chains widened the

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[60] Jeff Resner, "Italian Ethnic Market and the Airlines," in Maria Starczewska-Lambasa, ed., "The Ethnic Markets in New York City: A Study of Italian, Jewish, Polish, Chinese and Korean Markets and their Profit Potential for the Airlines, Banking and the Dailies," *Hofstra University Yearbook of Business* 17.3, (Hempstead, NY: Hofstra University, 1982), 94.
[61] Ibid.
[62] One survey conducted in 1990 found 100 percent of consumers visiting a supermarket each week, at an average of 2.3 trips per week. That is about 119 trips per year. *Progressive Grocer's 1992 Marketing Guidebook*, 30.

consumption experiences of those consumers. Ethnic foods and the cosmopolitan feel associated with them were first marketed to those with higher incomes. As an impulse or gourmet purchase, ethnic foods were targeted at middle or upper income families who liked to entertain and could show off their knowledge of authentic Italian or Chinese or Mexican foods. As many retailers stepped up their efforts to win over this upper income group, however, many also looked to mass market ethnic foods. These retailers figured that if the rich would serve guacamole or a stir-fry for a party, why couldn't the average consumer? In particular, they used holidays and special promotions to introduce average consumers to these foods. Storeowners and the food processors that made the ethnic foods figured that they could easily get people to try a new enchilada meal deal for Cinco de Mayo or a sweet and sour pork recipe for Chinese New Year. After running a successful Decemberfest promotion for German foods at one store, a supermarket executive became convinced that he should integrate ethnic foods into all of the store departments rather than put them into a separate gourmet foods section. "I realized we had to stop treating imported items as gourmet foods," he said. "They're really everyday ethnic foods which should be enjoyed by everyone."[63] As the processors and retailers integrated ethnic foods into various store areas, however, the actual food that people ate became less like the food eaten in Mexico or China. It was both hybridizing and homogenizing to some middle ground. And as food habits were changing in Mexico and China too, the interchanges went in full circles. People traveling back and forth between

[63] Len Schechter, executive vice president of Kings Super Markets, is quoted from "Should Imported Foods be Treated as Gourmet?" *Progressive Grocer*, March 1978, 130.

the United States and Mexico would find both countries changing, becoming more and more alike, each assimilating cultural components from each.

Many supermarkets had marketed ethnic food for decades at their local branches by catering to the specific immigrant groups and their descendants that populated their neighborhoods. But grocery chain sales stagnated in the early 1970s, causing many storeowners to theorize about how they could capture more of the market in non-food sales by expanding pharmacy, hardware, and clothing sections.[64] Supermarkets also tried to steal some of the restaurant industry's expanding business by building take-out food counters and expanded delis in their stores. Ethnic and specialty foods were another area for which storeowners hoped they could expand and differentiate their offerings. One Northridge, California, store was described as "bucking the discount trend" in 1971 for building a "complete International Foods snack counter/take-out department," carrying Italian, Mexican, Hawaiian and barbecue foods. The store's bakery also had a "wide assortment of ethnic and special breads" to capture more business.[65] Ethnic and specialty foods, take-out counters, and in-store bakeries and delis together served the purpose of expanding market share for these groceries.

During the 1970s, storeowners disagreed about whether to stock "ethnic" foods in separate sections or integrate them throughout the store, but no matter their placement in the store, most proprietors thought of them as impulse purchases. One owner of a

[64] Mueller, "5 Decades that Revolutionized the Food Industry," 36; Glenn H. Snyder, "The 'Combination Store': Growing New Approach for Super Markets," *Progressive Grocer*, January 1972, 41-45; "'Combination Store' Roundup," *Progressive Grocer*, January 1972, 46, 70-72, 78.
[65] "Bucking the Discount Trend with Selection and Service," *Progressive Grocer*, March 1971, 78-84; "Food Retailers See Big Potential in Fast Foods," *Progressive Grocer*, April 1970, 72-73.

suburban supermarket in Rochester, NY, said his customers were more likely to "pick up gourmet or ethnic items on impulse" if stocked with other foods, so he put Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, Jewish, Italian, South American and Greek foods throughout the store.[66] A San Francisco store instead spurred ethnic food sales by creating an end-of-aisle display with corn, tortillas, taco shells, chili, enchilada flavoring and Spanish rice on the display. The same display held Italian pastas and cheese as well as horseradish, potato salad, and party dips. As in the Rochester store, ethnic foods were categorized as "impulse" buys, best suited for a party or special occasion rather than a regular dinner.[67] An Alabama storeowner created a whole aisle of gourmet and international foods, stocking them together to win over young families that entertained and traveled a lot. The gourmet and party foods included Italian, Kosher, and Chinese items. These selections were clearly meant so that the party organizers could show off for their guests by demonstrating their expensive tastes and worldly ways.[68] Another store operator in Long Island used the same strategy, theorizing that his customers had traveled extensively and desired imported, ethnic, and health foods.[69]

Fazio's Food Emporium, a Cleveland-area store, captured the overall direction that supermarkets were moving – toward a heightened emphasis for ethnic foods. It carried 15,000 items and offered "perishables in depth, featuring ethnic lines and

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[66] David Kitchel, "Produce and Lighting Build Storewide Sales," *Progressive Grocer*, January 1973, 28-36. Hyman Benatovich owned this store was in Irondequoit, NY.
[67] "QFI Helps Sales with an Ethnic Case," *Progressive Grocer*, January 1973, 94.
[68] Joseph S. Coyle, "A Discount Super that Costs Less to Run," *Progressive Grocer*, March 1973, 58-66. The store was Food World East in Birmingham, AL.
[69] "Old-Line Chain is 'Reborn' in Suburbia," *Progressive Grocer*, September 1973, 50-58, about the King Cullen Grocery Store in Port Jefferson Station, NY.

concentrating on specialty products." Walking through the emporium, one would encounter fresh kielbasi and pasta imported from Italy, and in the produce section, bok choy and sugarcane.[70] Another store in southern California did the same, illuminating the direction of the super store. *Progressive Grocer* explained that the 46,500 square foot store combined a "deli, bakery, wine, flowers, party items, soft goods, kitchenware, dishes, appliances and pharmacy. It's much more than the chain has ever tried, but it's already coming together at its new Whittier, Calif. store."[71] The "featured" section of the store was the gourmet and ethnic foods department with imported and domestic goods.[72] Although it would seem that the diversity of Los Angeles warranted the diverse selection of the Whittier store, an Oklahoma City superstore also practiced the same strategy, for owner Fred Wehba Jr.'s mission was to capture impulse purchases on gourmet and ethnic items throughout his store, using the slogan, "More Than Just Meat and Potatoes" in his advertising. One of those impulse items at the store was Godiva chocolates; it was the first supermarket to carry the expensive truffles. Wehba sought off-the-cuff purchases from upper income shoppers, but he also realized he needed more than just those customers to sustain the business, advertising "everyday low prices" on common items.[73]

Although many grocers sought to highlight ethnic and specialty foods throughout their stores, many still confined them to special areas, believing that a "sectionalization" strategy was more profitable. One grocery executive put three-foot wide "Israeli"

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[70] "Inside Fazio's First Food Emporium," *Progressive Grocer*, March 1975, 94-100. The store was in Mayfield Heights, Ohio.
[71] "Ralph's Raises the Ante for Super Stores," *Progressive Grocer*, June 1975, 67.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Joseph S. Coyle, "Superest Store of Them All?," *Progressive Grocer*, August 1976, 42-47.

sections in some of his chain's stores because it made it easier for Jewish food suppliers to service the section, causing it to be better stocked, resulting in higher sales.[74] Store managers also sectionalized ethnic foods for promotional tie-ins, either to sell a particular product or highlight a holiday that could be used to move those foods. Customers often needed a familiar signpost to guide their purchases of ethnic foods. In the case of Mexican food, Piñata brand Mexican foods used the piñata to capture customer's attention, quite literally. They distributed small piñatas to stores to be hung above their "Piñata 'Something for Everyone' Line" of foods. Piñata's foods included tortillas, taco shells, sauces, seasoning mixes, frozen burritos, and even frozen corn dogs, which in one advertisement the company claimed were an "American favorite with a taste of Mexico."[75] Similarly, Best Foods created an end-of-aisle display, "Go Chinese with Karo" to sell its Karo corn syrup, Mazola oil, rice, canned pineapple, shrimp, Argo cornstarch and soy sauce. The display had recipe cards that were "specially created by a famous Chinese restaurant" and when staged at a Chicago supermarket was "one of the best promotions ever run" at that store.[76] Fittingly, the promotion highlighted the ingredient that perhaps most characterized Americanized Chinese food – sugar in the form of corn syrup. The ubiquitous nature of corn in American eating had made its mark on American Chinese food in the sugary part of the sweet and sour shrimp.

[74] Herb Brody, Vice Chairman, Pathmark, quoted in "Jewish Foods… A Growing Success Story at Pathmark," *Progressive Grocer*, February 1973, 100.
[75] Advertisement in *Progressive Grocer*, November 1978, 71; "Hanging Piñata Spotlights Mexican Foods Section," *Progressive Grocer*, June 1979, 96F. It's not clear from the advertisement what was Mexican about the corn dog, except perhaps the long history of corn consumption in Mexico.
[76] "Retailing Roundup," *Progressive Grocer*, March 1973, 100.

Ethnic Foods: Holidays or Everyday?

Because many shoppers needed signposts to try ethnic foods, holiday promotions were a favored strategy for many supermarket operators. They also marked the simultaneous pull of diversity and sameness. These promotions filled the yearly calendar for grocery managers, beginning in January with Chinese New Year and moving onto Lent, Easter, St. Patrick's Day, Passover, Cinco de Mayo, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Mexican Independence Day, Columbus Day, Halloween, Thanksgiving, and finally, the biggest of them all, Christmas.[77] Those ethnic holidays such as Chinese New Year and Cinco de Mayo became new marketing opportunities for storeowners as they saw more immigrants from countries like China and Mexico enter the United States. They also sought business from non-immigrant customers. A "1970 Merchandising Calendar for the Delicatessen" explained in its May entry about Cinco de Mayo that "'Gringos' are buying more and more of the flavorful Mexican foods."[78] The same year, *Progressive Grocer* advised that a Chinese New Year store promotion displaying foods "such as canned chow mein, fried rice, boxes of rice, canned Chinese noodles, soy sauce and hot mustard," could encourage "specialty sales." While Chinese customers would certainly purchase some of these foods, by the inclusion of chow mein and canned noodles the promotion was more likely targeted at customers with no Chinese heritage.[79] In holiday promotions,

[77] One example is the "Frozen Food Planning Calendar," *Progressive Grocer*, August 1972, 146-47.
[78] The calendar was produced by the California Delicatessen Council, *Progressive Grocer,* January 1970, 131.
[79] Most of these promotions were not run in areas of the country with large Chinese-American populations. Furthermore, around 1970 the ethnic Chinese population in the United States was relatively small – about 436,062. The number, from Census estimates, is an approximation because ethnic Chinese have migrated from a variety of places in large numbers besides mainland China to the United States, including Taiwan,

grocery store operators sought first to shift the eating habits of the people who rarely ate Mexican or Chinese or Italian food. Slowly, they also tried to sell to the new immigrant populations in the United States and, in turn, to the non-immigrants who ate at the restaurants that those immigrants ran. Supermarket operators hoped to capitalize on the new diversity but also create a sameness of sorts, for they would profit most if *all* customers bought Mexican or Chinese food.

As the years passed, the types of foods that the average customer would try became more diverse. After all, more and more immigrants entered the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, and what was once new became old, forcing supermarket operators to look for the new sales edge. If a supermarket chain really wanted to differentiate its offerings, it had to constantly innovate. By the 1980s, ethnic foods became a relatively easy differentiation vehicle because global trade had made importing those foods easier.[80] A store operator could actually acquire tropical fruits and vegetables from the tropical regions that people immigrated from. During the 1960s, that had been more difficult. The changes in the grocery store had parallels in other cultural realms. Increasing global trade and migration made music, styles of dress and television shows more portable. The widening of ethnic foods selection in grocery stores then signals an overall trend in the

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Hong Kong, and Vietnam. Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1990), 351-53.

[80] A typical example of this is "Set Your Store Apart with Specialty Foods," *Progressive Grocer*, July 1988, which began, "Today's Specialty is Tomorrow's Staple."

post 1960s period – diversification of choices, especially those that are culturally identified.[81]

In all of these businesses, including supermarkets, widening choice was about profit. "Oriental Vegetables Make Scrutable Money" was a characteristic article describing changes in the market for new foods. Found in a 1976 issue of *Progressive Grocer*, its headline played on a still-persistent stereotype of the Chinese as inscrutable or mysterious.[82] Suggesting that the Chinese were in fact no longer mysterious to American consumers, or at least the "sophisticated shoppers," the article argued that supermarket owners could capitalize on this "latest growth category," by selling Chinese vegetables. It captured most of the key features of diversification on the supermarket aisles. First, the diversification of foods began in "cosmopolitan" cities, where customers were willing to try new foods. Second, it was prompted in part by immigration from Asia and Latin America. Third, the presence of new domestic and foreign suppliers enabled grocers to actually stock the new foods. The article pointed to California supermarkets as the pioneers in Chinese vegetables, saying that some have been "offering bok choy and Napa cabbage as readily as kielbasi or knishes," or old European ethnic foods, "in the

[81] On the general consumption of ethnically-identified goods in the post 1960s period, see Halter, *Shopping for Identity*; Bandana Purkayastha, *Negotiating Ethnicity: Second-Generation South Asian Americans Traverse a Transnational World* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005); Jacobson, *Roots Too*.
[82] The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2nd ed., defines inscrutable as "That cannot be searched into or found out by searching; impenetrable or unfathomable to investigation; quite unintelligible, entirely mysterious." On the persistence of American views of the Chinese as inscrutable, Harold R. Isaacs conducted a study in the 1950s in which 41 percent of respondents described the Chinese as "inscrutable, difficult to communicate with," *Images of Asia: American Views of China and India* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 72-89. For additional views, see Rey Chow, "How (the) Inscrutable Chinese Led to Globalized Theory" *PMLA* 116.1, Special Topic, Globalizing Literary Studies (2001): 69-74; Jürgen Osterhammel, untitled review of *Bulls in the China Shop and Other Sino-American Business Encounters* by Randall E. Stross, *The Business History Review* 66.4, (1992): 831-32.

appropriate neighborhoods." It added that until then Chinese Americans could not find a "full line" of Chinese foods at supermarkets, but that slowly options broadened at supermarkets, and as a result, "the white population started buying as well." Lastly, the article contended that low prices and steady supplies made the Chinese vegetables attractive to new buyers.[83]

Through the 1980s, supermarket chains slowly added new items to satisfy a growing demand for Asian and Latin American foods. In 1982, the *San Jose Mercury News* ran an article advising readers where to shop for the "truly authentic and exotic meal," providing a list of ten small ethnic stores. The *Mercury News* acknowledged that many readers had "dabbled with ethnic fare," for they were even able to buy some of their ingredients from the big chain supermarkets, which were "catching ethnic-food fever." Those supermarkets already had fresh basil, bok choy, rice vinegar, exotic mushrooms, and chili and curry condiments. Accordingly, many readers had started making food in their newly purchased woks and others had switched from spaghetti and meatballs to linguine with pesto.[84] In the 1980s, supermarket chains slowly realized that they could pick up some of the business had by those independent stores that filled the gaps in ethnic foods. If the Chinese were still viewed as inscrutable in the mid-1970s, that perception was changing by the 1980s, at least when it came to their food. Chinese food constituted a serious "growth category" by the 1980s and 1990s. Grocery chains had to figure out what Chinese goods to sell in order to satisfy both the immigrant consumers

[83] "Oriental Vegetables Make Scrutable Money," *Progressive Grocer*, July 1976, 22.
[84] Joseph Izzo, Jr., "Ethnic Fare: A Guide to Exotic Cuisine at Your Neighborhood Market," *San Jose Mercury News*, October 6, 1982.

and the increasing share of Americans who wanted to make Chinese food at a time other than Chinese New Year.

In the Bay Area, a region with a long-standing and large ethnic Chinese population, Safeway first built Chinese takeout counters in its supermarkets in the mid-1980s to "capture a greater share of growing consumer expenditures" for takeout food.[85] In this case, Chinese takeout food was just one of many other products that were used to capture changing eating habits – its ethnic connotations were not really important to the corporate strategy. At the same time, an annual report explained that the product selection at its conventional supermarkets had almost doubled in the last five years. Rather than "duplicating similar items," the company put the emphasis on "extending the range of different items" including an "extensive list of ethnic foods and various specialty items."[86] At the same time that Safeway was using ethnic foods for a cross-section of its customers, it was also targeting its operations to specific segments of its customer base. Five years earlier, another annual report had been designed around selling the company's ability to segment its marketing. It trumpeted the company's expanding opportunities with Mexican American shoppers. The report featured a photo of Raj Dogra, who "helped pioneer Safeway's entry into Mexico in 1981," and later as El Paso division head was able to apply knowledge about Mexican consumption habits on a "daily" basis. The company was learning "firsthand what families of Mexican origin expect from their supermarkets," by its experience in Mexico.[87] Later in the report, a full-page photo

[85] Safeway, Inc., *Annual Report, 1989* (Oakland, CA: Safeway, Inc., 1990), 4.
[86] Ibid, 3.
[87] Safeway Stores, Inc., *1984 Annual Report* (Oakland, CA: Safeway Stores, 1984), 5.

depicted a Mexican American family just outside a church celebrating a girl's first communion. The table they were gathered at overflowed with tortillas, pre-cut vegetables, a piñata, Safeway cola, and Presidente tequila. That same family was on the report's cover photo alongside a cross-section of Americans who were "as diverse as America itself." The report said that no matter their diversity, they had their Safeway shopping experience in common.[88]

Safeway tried to do both with its ethnic food offerings – capture the growing customer base of Mexican Americans and still please all the rest. The need for the large supermarket chains to address both needs – a specific marketing segment, such as Mexican Americans, and a wider customer base – resulted in those chains expanding the size of their stores in the 1980s and 1990s. After all, if customers demand variety *and* comfort, why not offer massive stores that mostly look the same? Variety was often overwhelming, so familiarity came in the form of a shopping trip at a clean, well-lit, suburban supermarket that overflowed with well-recognized brand name foods. This retail strategy was not confined to the supermarket during this era of globalization. The airport terminal is perhaps the retail environment most closely affected by globalization. Increasingly, airport operators have hired a mix of food vendors to give customers a sense of the local area while also attending to the national, or international mix of passengers. One vice president for HMSHost Corporation, a multinational corporation that manages concessions for airports, explained this mix. He said that airport terminals need national operators like McDonald's because "that's what travelers know and trust,"

[88] Ibid, 1-4.

but also need local vendors to give customers a "sense of place" and variety. A spokesman for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which operates Kennedy, La Guardia, and Newark airports, agreed, saying, "we try to be all things to all people, from sushi to Southern barbecue, fast food and sit-down."[89] The same could have been said about supermarkets as the twentieth century passed into the twenty-first. The needed variety to be all things to all people but provided what customers knew and trusted too.

Part II

The Consolidation and Globalization of Grocery Stores:

Eating Varied Meals at the Safeway

The increased marketing of ethnic foods after the 1960s meant a new diversity of experience for American consumers. The absolute number of choices at the average American grocery store was much larger in 2000 as compared to 1960. Many of those choices were ethnically-marked, listed as Chinese, Italian, South Indian, Oaxacan, Laotian, or Tuscan; indeed the descriptive markers seemed endless. The eating possibilities seemed boundless for two basic reasons. First, culture varies widely as one travels around the world. At the end of the twentieth century, farmers in the river deltas of Bangladesh led quite different lives from software engineers in Atlanta. Although one set of scholars typically argued that globalization was ultimately homogenizing, even if

[89] The HMSHost Corporation executive is Pat Banducci, senior vice president for business development, and the Port Authority spokesman is Pasquale DiFulco. Both quoted in Dulcie Lembach, "To Savor the Local Flavors, Head to the Airport," *New York Times*, August 9, 2007.

they were correct, there were still bountiful local distinctions as one traveled the world over.[90] These distinctions were brought to American supermarkets simply because it was possible. The globalization that homogenized the world was also introducing diversity to the consumptive experience at the local supermarket. This was partly because Bangladeshi immigrants could be found in an Atlanta supermarket, demanding foods they had eaten in their homeland. But the diversity of the consumptive experience was also a function of deliberate marketing policies by grocery chains that were mirrored in non-food industries.

The market segmentation strategies that had taken hold in the 1960s were put to test in the supermarkets, producing a few results. One was the initial attempt on the part of supermarket operators to capture the traffic in ethnic foods, believing that it would lead to higher profits. They were right. Variety indeed meant profit.[91] Store operators did this by instituting special promotions for ethnic holidays, creating display cases overflowing with beans, tortillas and avocados for Cinco de Mayo. They also slowly and

[90] One series of studies show that customers at McDonald's in various countries exhibit distinct consumption patterns and attitudes about their eating experiences at the chain, Watson, ed., *Golden Arches East*. Any number of cookbooks and guidebooks testify to intense regional distinctions within the United States. Time-Life books, for example, published a series of cookbooks in the 1960s and 1970s about the culinary regions of the United States. Two of the volumes were Jonathan Norton Leonard, *Foods of the World: American Cooking: New England* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1970), and Jonathan Norton Leonard, *Foods of the World: American Cooking: The Great West* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1971). In Texas, one example is Sandy Wagner and Sandra Marquez, *Cooking Texas Style: A Heritage of Traditional Recipes* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983). Two books that survey the regions of the United States in one volume are Randi Danforth, Peter Feierabend, and Gary Chassmand eds., *Culinaria: The United States, a Culinary Discovery*, (New York: Konemann, 1998); Joan Nathan, *The New American Cooking* (New York: Knopf, 2005).

[91] The Food Industry Center at the University of Minnesota instituted a Supermarket Panel in 1998 to study the grocery industry. The 2003 report found that "Variety helps to grow annual percentage sales." Jean D. Kinsey, Elaine M. Jacobson, Ajay S. Behl, and Jonathan M. Seltzer, *The 2003 Supermarket Panel: Annual Report* (St. Paul: The Food Industry Center, University of Minnesota, 2003), http://agecon.lib.umn.edu/cgi-bin/pdf_view.pl?paperid=13633&ftype=.pdf (accessed September 1, 2007), ii, 41.

tentatively created larger ethnic sections in their supermarkets, adding end cases for Mexican foods, new sections with Oriental foodstuffs, or most commonly, an exotic or ethnic produce area. As these efforts proved successful in many stores and as more Asian and Latin American immigrants entered the United States, the marketing strategies changed. Some stores decided that the new ethnic foods should be integrated throughout the store. Those store executives wanted the bok choy with the rest of the vegetables, coconut milk with the rest of the canned goods, and tortillas in the bread aisle. Storeowners realized that Americans of all ethnic groups were eating those foods, so they could sell them alongside the European-origin foods that their markets had featured for a much longer time. Food processors also realized that they had a burgeoning market in the ethnic foods trade. But no matter whether they could be found in the special ethnic foods section or were integrated throughout the store, ethnically identified products made up a larger share of the products in the typical supermarket, contributing to a dramatic increase in overall product choice in those stores (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1
Number of Items in the Typical Grocery Store, 1920-2004

Year	Average Number in Each Store
1920	700
1930	1,000
1940	1,800
1950	3,750
1960	5,900
1970	7,800
1980	14,000
1988	26,430[a]
1998	40,333
2002	35,000
2004	40,000

Sources: For the years 1920-1970, Robert W. Mueller, "5 Decades that Revolutionized the Food Industry," *Progressive Grocer*, June 1972, 19, 20, 22, 26, 28, 30. For 1980, J. Michael Harris, Phil R. Kaufman, Steve W. Martinez (coordinator), and Charlene Price, *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002, AER# 811*, (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 2002), 22. For 1988, 1998, and 2002, *Food Marketing Industry Speaks 2003* (Washington DC: Food Marketing Institute, 2003), 18. For 2004, the number listed is for conventional supermarkets. Superstores carried 35,000 items on average, and combination stores carried 42,500, *Food Marketing Industry Speaks, 2004* (Washington, DC: Food Marketing Institute, 2004), 38.

[a] This figure from the Food Marketing Industry does not correspond to a figure cited by *Progressive Grocer* of 15,112 items in 1990. The Food Marketing Institute claims the median number of store items in 1988 was 26,430, and in 1992 was 30,000. Clearly, there was growth in the number of items in the typical store from 1980 to 2004, but it is not clear if the bulk of that growth occurred in the 1980s or early 1990s, or was steady throughout the period. It seems more likely that the progression was fairly steady during the 1980s and 1990s, for immigration was high and ethnic foods had taken hold. See *Progressive Grocer's 1992 Marketing Guidebook* (Stamford, CT: Progressive Grocer Trade Dimensions, 1991), 28; *Food Marketing Industry Speaks 2003*, 18.

Shoppers found diversity in their supermarkets, but along with that greater range of choices came a distinct homogeneity of experience. Those supermarkets became more and more alike in the post-1960s period as chains consolidated and stores became larger. The largesse of stores ironically made more choices possible, but also made for larger chains. The last half of the chapter describes the consolidation of the supermarket business and its effect on food consumption in the last few decades of the twentieth century. First, however, it is instructive to describe the origin of those chain stores in the early twentieth century, for it was during that era that mass consumption habits took hold.[92]

Shopping at the Early Chain Stores and Supermarkets

It many ways it was remarkable that all groups shopped at the same stores at the end of the twentieth century. Despite the changes of the civil rights era, Americans were still segregated by class, race and ethnicity, and political beliefs.[93] But no matter whether they lived in segregation, Americans of all types shopped at the same store chains. San Franciscans in poor and rich neighborhoods both shopped as Safeway. Dallas residents in

[92] See Richard S. Tedlow, *New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1996); Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982); Cohen, *Making a New Deal*.

[93] James T. Patterson, *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to* Bush v. Gore (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 307-10; Segregation in schools decreased for some time after the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954) decision, but returned to high levels by the early twenty-first century. See Gary Orfield and Chungmei Lee, Brown *At 50: King's Dream or* Plessy's *Nightmare?* (Cambridge: Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, 2004), www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu, (accessed May 23, 2004), 1-35. On politics, Robert Putnam has shown that social networks in modern America are weaker in areas of greater racial and ethnic diversity. He argues that "immigration and ethnic diversity challenge social solidarity and inhibit social capital," in "*E Pluribus Unum:* Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century, The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30.2 (2007): 137-174.

poor and rich neighborhoods shopped at Albertson's, Kroger's, or both.[94] At the beginning of the twenty-first century, some chains found success catering to shoppers wanting primarily organic, gourmet, or specialty foods, such as Whole Foods (nationwide), Central Market (in Texas), and Andronico's (in Northern California), but their sales composed a relatively small portion of the overall grocery trade.[95]

There were two essential differences between grocery shopping during the first era of mass immigration in the early twentieth century and the second era at century's end. First, during the early 1900s, "ethnic and racial politics permeated food shopping," whereas this feature of the consumptive experience was absent from the supermarket of the late twentieth century.[96] In the early 1900s, Lithuanian grocers served Lithuanian shoppers in the multicultural environs of Chicago, and Jewish or German proprietors who wanted to sell to that market were often shunned. Ethnic and racial tensions often exacerbated tensions between shoppers and grocers over the quality of foodstuffs, credit, and prices.[97] As Donna Gabaccia has argued, during the early 1900s, "cultural conflicts associated with nation-building characterized the early years of American consumer society, preventing the free expression and celebration of the multiculturalism that has

[94] See Table 2.3 below.
[95] In 2006, for example, Whole Foods, the largest of the stores catering to gourmet and organic shoppers had $1.72 billion in sales in 2001, making it the 34th largest grocery chain. In the Houston-Galveston-Brazoria and Dallas-Fort Worth markets, for example, the chain had just over 1 percent of area sales. In the San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose market, it reached 2 percent of sales, small in comparison to Safeway, the largest retailer in the area at a 29 percent market share. See *Chain Store Guide 2001*, pp. a59, a67, a91.
[96] Tracey Deutsch, "Untangling Alliances: Social Tensions Surrounding Independent Grocery Stores and the Rise of Mass Retailing," in Warren Belasco and Philip Scranton eds., *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 160.
[97] Deutsch, *"Untangling Alliances*," in Belasco and Scranton eds., *Food Nations*, 160.

now become such a familiar part of our own consumer marketplace and sense of national identity."[98]

While those grocers often had special products associated with shoppers' ethnic heritages, they were typically small, offering limited selection. Before grocery chains, consumers did have a place to turn for one-stop shopping, however, even if it did not provide produce or meats. That "place" was the mail-order catalog from Montgomery Ward or Sears. Before 1920, more Americans lived in rural than urban areas, and choice was even more limited for country folk when it came to consumer goods. As Susan Strasser has shown, the mail-order giants were the precursor to Wal-Mart, offering two of its most attractive features – one-stop shopping and rock-bottom prices. Just as consumers of varied backgrounds experience sameness and diversity simultaneously at Wal-Marts and other supermarket chains, mail order shopping during the height of the last century's immigration had a similar cast. The Sears and Montgomery Ward's catalogs listed tens of thousands of items in the 1890s, much as a Wal-Mart superstore carried that number in the 1990s. And tens of millions of Americans shopped "at" each in both eras, sharing a common experience there.[99]

Grocery chains first came into being in the early 1900s, and expanded rapidly around World War I as the catalog stores such as Sears and A&P opened hundreds of

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[98] Donna Gabaccia, "As American as Budweiser and Pickles? Nation-Building in American Food Industries," in Belasco and Scranton, eds., *Food Nations*, 177. Gabaccia also makes this argument in *We Are What We Eat*.

[99] Susan Strasser, "Woolworth to Wal-Mart: Mass Merchandising and the Changing Culture of Consumption," in Nelson Lichtenstein, ed., *Wal-Mart: The Face of Twenty-First Century Capitalism* (New York: The New Press, 2006), 31-56. The urban-rural population mix is from Population: Urban/Suburban/Rural" in *The First Measured Century*.

retail locations in the growing cities.[100] These chains took hold as other forms of mass consumption were also emerging, such as network radio broadcasts and the movies and newsreels shown in chain theaters. Significantly too, mass immigration from Europe slowed dramatically on the heels of new restrictive laws during that decade, making it easier for immigrant communities to share in a national rather than ethnic or local culture.[101] As independent grocery stores were pushed out of business by the chains, immigrants slowly stopped spending most of their money at establishments managed by their own kind. Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, and other immigrants shopped together at the chains, which sold many more mass-produced goods than their old ethnic grocery stores. Immigrants had participated in diverse and separate food consumption practices before these chains dominated the retail grocery trade. But after the chains took hold, immigrants ate more and more alike.[102]

Italian food is the most important example of this process. Italians were the largest immigrant group during the 1870-1920 period of European immigration.[103] Italian immigrants underwent a homogenization of eating habits on two levels. Before immigrating to the United States, most Italians in fact placed their allegiances with their home village or region. They did not necessarily share an "Italian" mentality. In America they became Italian, exchanging cultural traditions with Italians from other regions to

[100] Tedlow, *New and Improved*, 188-99.
[101] Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 324-27.
[102] Deutsch, "Untangling Alliances," in Belasco and Scranton eds., *Food Nations*, 156-74.
[103] *2001 Statistical Yearbook of the INS*, 6-7.

create a national Italian cuisine in the United States.[104] Then, as Italian immigration slowed and chain stores took hold, this national Italian food was slowly introduced to non-Italians in the United States. Some Italian restaurants opened in neighborhoods like New York's Greenwich Village that catered to non-Italians looking for a "bohemian" experience. At the same time, large food manufacturers created "Italian" canned foods. At first, this was the most common way that Americans experienced Italian food from the grocery store, but restaurants soon opened to serve spaghetti and meatballs, a dish that one would hardly find in Italy itself. By the 1950s, Italian food in America, in both grocery stores and restaurants, was quite common, and could be said to have a stilted sameness to it – spaghetti and meatballs, pizza, and macaroni and cheese were its common denominators.[105]

Some of the early chains, Safeway, Kroger's, and the largest, A&P, grew in the 1920s because they capitalized on the tensions between purveyors and customers at the independent stores. (A chain is typically defined as a company that has 11 or more branches, and an independent is an operator of ten or fewer stores. The Census Bureau

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[104] Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 19-25, 224-28.

[105] Simone Cinotto, "'Now That's Italian!' Representations of Italian Cuisine in American Popular Magazines, 1950-2000," (New York: The Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America: 2004), http://www.italianacademy.columbia.edu/pdfs/cinotto.pdf (accessed March 19, 2007), 6-9. Harvey Levenstein calls the eating of Italian food in America the "pasta-and-spicy-tomato-sauce syndrome" in *Paradox of Plenty*, 51-52, 216, 223, quote on 51. On the popularity of spaghetti and meatballs, also see Christopher Lee, "Bay Area Restaurateur," conducted by Kirstin Jackson in 2004 (Regional Oral History Office, BANC, 2006), 8, 13. Elizabeth Paulucci was the sister of Jeno Paulucci, the founder of a processed food empire based in Minnesota that included Jeno's, Michelina's, and Chun King brands of frozen and canned foods. In her cookbook, she explains a recipe for "Liz's Spaghetti Sauce with Meatballs" by saying that it was a "revelation on her first trip to Italy, [where] Lois kept asking for spaghetti and meatballs and not one restaurant offered it on the menu!" *Cookbook from a Melting Pot*, (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1981), 168.

defined a chain as four or more stores until 1951, when it increased the number to 11.)[106] Before the chains, most grocery operators held goods behind the counter and customers pointed to what they wanted, waiting for a clerk to fetch it. Early grocers also extended credit to cash-poor customers and prices were typically negotiable. Disputes over credit, prices, and the quality of the merchandise often boiled into frustration for customers. The chain stores saw these problems with the independents and responded by standardizing prices and instituting cash and carry operations. It must be remembered that early chain stores were not like supermarkets of the post-WWII era. They were still small – most less than a thousand square feet.

It was only during the 1930s that the features of the modern supermarket began to take hold, including larger size, cash sales, self-service, and a wide range of goods. These supermarkets offered not just dry goods, but also meat, produce, and non-dry goods, which before had typically been sold by separate purveyors. Another key difference was that supermarkets operated from a central office. Perhaps most importantly, the chain stores, and later, to an even greater extent, the supermarkets, sold mass-produced, nationally-advertised foods. The earliest supermarkets shied away from the ethnic brands that grocers had once sold, turning to national-brand goods to serve the mass market. The proprietor of the King Kullen supermarket chain, Michael Cullen, was the "leading figure in the supermarket movement in the 1930s." He wanted a "wide variety of goods" for customers, but also wanted them to be "100 percent branded and nationally advertised merchandise," for that "stimulated business." Soon, independent grocers mimicked the

[106] Tedlow, *New and Improved*, 198; "Definitions," *Progressive Grocer*, April 1971, 61.

techniques of the supermarkets by centralizing operations and selling mass-marketed goods.[107]

For the most part then, ethnic and racial tensions faded from the grocery retailing landscape as supermarkets took hold. In looking to capture the masses, those supermarkets also de-emphasized ethnic foods, and as a result, the immigrants and their children ate a homogenized version of the cuisines from their homelands. There were some exceptions to the relative harmony and sameness in the supermarkets. During the 1960s and 1970s, some black customers rightfully complained that their city grocery stores had high prices and low selection when compared to stores outside their mostly-black neighborhoods.[108] And during the Los Angeles riots in 1991, tensions between Korean-American grocers and black residents of the South Central neighborhood overflowed with many groceries suffering looting.[109] Overall, however, these conflicts paled in comparison to the general ethnic and racial calm of the grocery shopping experience. By the early twenty-first century, Americans were, in many respects, shopping at similar stores carrying similar products. What had changed, however, was the

[107] Quotes from Tedlow, *New and Improved*, 226, 228. Tedlow's is the clearest summary of the shift from independents to chains to supermarkets, 182-258. On the nature of local ethnic versus national mass merchandise, see, Deutsch, "Untangling Alliances," Belasco and Scranton eds., *Food Nations*, 156-74. Deutsch gives estimates for the size of the stores. On the rise of chain stores in relation to mass consumption and ethnicity, see also Cohen, *Making a New Deal,* 99-120. Cohen qualifies that some of the features of the chain store, such as self-service, did not take fully take hold until the 1930s even if chain stores captured a great deal of business in the 1920s. One history of the supermarket industry claims that the term "supermarket" came into being when Eastern grocers traveled to the West Coast to look at combination stores there that sold both dry groceries and the meat, produce, and non-dry groceries that grocery stores had not purveyed before. "The History of the Supermarket Industry," in *Progressive Grocer's 1992 Marketing Guidebook* (Stamford, CT: Progressive Grocer Trade Dimensions, 1991), (no page numbers – inside front cover).

[108] "GMA concentrates on 70s, ghettos, consumerism," *Progressive Grocer,* January 1970, 9; Abel F. Lemes, "Safeway Lends Hand to Failing Co-op," *Safeway News*, June, 1968, 2-5.

[109] Patterson, *Restless Giant*, 245; Kyeyoung Park, "Use and Abuse of Race and Culture: Black-Korean Tension in America," *American Anthropologist* 98, New Series, no. 3, (1996): 492-99.

immense variety of the products available *within* each store. To understand this paradox of diversity and sameness, one must see the overall consolidation of the grocery industry during the last few decades of the twentieth century.

Changes in the Grocery Business:
Consolidation, Expansion, and Product Diversification

Over the course of the last two decades of the twentieth century, major supermarket chains consolidated, thereby increasing their market shares. The biggest chains – Kroger, Safeway, Albertson's, and Wal-Mart – had a wider share of their regional markets than they did a few decades prior. At the same time, all of these chains operated larger stores with much wider selections. One-stop shopping was the norm by the turn of the century, as American consumers could shop their local supermarket or super store and buy food, toiletries, auto parts, clothing, electronics, and office supplies under one roof.

This meant a certain sameness of experience for the average consumer, particularly when one considers other developments in the food industries. Food processors also consolidated during this time, meaning American consumers ate more products from Nestlé, Kraft, Tyson Foods, and other large companies. The food wholesalers that supplied restaurants, cafeterias, and convenience stores became larger too, with Sysco dominating the market by 2005.[110] And to make the eating experience

[110] Steve W. Martinez, *The U.S. Food marketing System: Recent Developments, 1997-2006, ERR #42* (Washington, D.C.: ERS-USDA, 2007), 46.

even more homogenized, many food service chains set up shop *inside* the local supermarket or superstore by the early twenty-first century. McDonald's and Starbucks each operated hundreds of stores within supermarkets at the turn of the century.[111] The convergence of suppliers for the restaurant and grocery trade has long been a selling point in McDonald's corporate literature. The burger giant promoted its connection to large food processors, believing that the brand recognition shoppers had developed in their supermarket trips would convince them that the foods they got from McDonalds were healthy and safe. A 1986 nutrition pamphlet showed Sara Lee Danishes, Hunt's ketchup, Tyson chicken, Kraft cheese, and Gorton's fish filets on its cover next to its fries and hamburgers.[112] In 2006 it was still selling the connection, noting in its annual report that "many of the foods McDonald's serves are from the same trusted brands that consumers purchase at the grocery store to enjoy at home – Dannon, Kraft, Nestlé, Tyson, Dasani, Newman's Own, Heinz, Minute Maid, and many others."[113] Even as American shoppers traversing the grocery aisles could get bok choy, hoisin sauce, or tortillas much easier than they could forty years prior, those foods often came from the same supplier, populated by the same ingredients, no matter which supermarket or restaurant they were purchased from.

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[111] Starbucks licensed 530 stores in supermarkets in October 2000. Starbucks also sold its ground coffee and bottled drinks in supermarkets and to a variety of other food service establishments, from airlines to wholesale clubs. Starbucks Corp., *10-K Filing with the United States Securities and Exchange Commission for 10/1/2000*, http://www.secinfo.com/dr643.524k.htm (accessed August 17, 2007). McDonald's had about 700 franchises within Wal-Mart retail locations in early 2003, *Meat Retailer*, January 1, 2003.
[112] *McDonald's Food: The Facts* (Oak Brook, IL: McDonald's Corporation, 1986), 7, CCSF, Folder - Chains, General Menu, USA.
[113] McDonald's, "McDonald's Facts Summary," 2006, found at http://www.mcdonalds.com/corp/about/factsheets.html (accessed August 17, 2007).

What was different in 1995 as compared to 1955 was the reach of these corporations in the global marketplace. By 1995, those brands and companies were available in many places outside the United States. To explain the reach of American corporations, one commentator used the story of a Japanese girl who, upon visiting Los Angeles told her mother, "Look, mom, they have McDonald's here too."[114] This dissertation is concerned with that phenomenon not so much for what it means for Japanese culture, but what it means for American culture.

In order to see how American consumers have been affected by globalization, one must also see how the sameness of eating experience was not confined to American consumers within American national borders. This fact becomes even more important in an age of immigration, when consumers are traversing borders. A consumer in Mexico might well shop at a Wal-Mart, H.E.B., or Casa Ley (owned by Safeway) supermarket just as consumers in the U.S. are doing the same. Wal-Mart was the largest supermarket operator in Mexico by 2001.[115] Although Wal-Mart has had an important effect on consumption in Latin America and Asia, European retail giants had branches in both continents earlier. The hypermarket, a massive supermarket and general store, had been a feature of European life for over a decade before Wal-Mart built them in the United

[114] The story is told by McDonald's officials. See Thomas L. Friedman, editorial, "Big Mac II," *New York Times*, December 11, 1996. Rob Kroes discusses the impact of McDonald's local and global effects and Friedman's column in "Advertising: The Commodification of American Icons of Freedom," in Wagnleitner and May, eds., *"Here, There and Everywhere*," 273-87.
[115] Rita Schwentesius and Manuel Ángel Gómez, "Supermarkets in Mexico: Impacts on Horticulture Systems," *Development Policy Review* 20.4 (2002): 492.

States.[116] The French supermarket chain, Carrefour, opened its first hypermarket in 1963 in France, and expanded to Brazil in 1975 and Taiwan in 1989.[117] One-stop shopping slowly took hold in Latin America and Asia as consumers increasingly got their food from superstores and hypermarkets, and these were often operated by European or American companies. In Chile, supermarkets owned by a small number of operators took hold through the 1990s as they expanded their business beyond the upper-income neighborhoods of Santiago and built stores in the middle- and lower-class sections of smaller cities.[118] Royal Ahold, a Dutch company that was expanding in Latin America, also bought the U.S. chains of Giant Food and Stop and Shop during the 1990s to become one of the largest food purveyors in the United States.[119]

The experience of the Safeway grocery chain from the 1960s forward is instructive of how the supermarket industry has changed, swaying between the strategy of giving its customers greater product offerings while simultaneously offering a

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[116] A hypermarket is defined as "the largest of supermarket formats, typically 150,000 square feet or more of selling area. General merchandise accounts for 40 percent of sales, while food and nonfood grocery products represent 60 percent of sales," by the USDA in J. Michael Harris, Phil R. Kaufman, Steve W. Martinez (coordinator), and Charlene Price, *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002, AER# 811*, (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 2002), 23.

[117] Carrefour Group, "History," at http://www.carrefour.com/cdc/group/history/ (accessed September 1, 2007). Wal-Mart, Carrefour and Royal Ahold (based in the Netherlands), were the three largest grocery retailers in the world. Thomas Reardon and Julio A. Berdegué, "The Rapid Rise of Supermarkets in Latin America: Challenges and Opportunities for Development," *Development Policy Review* 20.4 (2002): 7. On the place of the large retailers, see also Senauer and Venturini, "The Globalization of Food Systems," 21-27. Royal Ahold and Carrefour laid the "groundwork" for Wal-Mart in Asia, according to one Wal-Mart executive, quoted in Misha Petrovic and Gary G. Hamilton, "Making Global Markets: Wal-Mart and Its Suppliers," in Lichtenstein, ed., *Wal-Mart*, 128.

[118] Sergio Faiguenbaum, Julio A. Berdegué and Thomas Reardon, "The Rapid Rise of Supermarkets in Chile: Effects on Dairy, Vegetable, and Beef Chains," *Development Policy Review* 20.4 (2002): 459-71. The large supermarket chains were both Chilean and non-Chilean.

[119] Royal Ahold, "About Us – History," at http://www.ahold.com/page/14.aspx (accessed August 18, 2007). In addition to its operations in the Netherlands, Royal Ahold had supermarket ventures in the Czech and Slovak Republics in 2006.

consistent and familiar shopping environment. Safeway has been one of the largest grocery purveyors since the 1960s. Safeway and other chains centralized and streamlined their overall operations while building ever-larger stores during that period. One Safeway executive explained that the company shifted from a bottom-up to top-down management strategy in the 1990s and early 2000s. Despite its largesse, the grocery giant used to be operated at the local level, as store managers made many decisions about what to feature at their supermarkets. But the company centralized its operations in response to competition from other chains, and by the late 1990s a group of executives at its Pleasanton, California, headquarters made most decisions about offerings at its more than 1600 stores.[120]

As Safeway was streamlining its organizational structure, it expanded by adding new locations in booming suburbs, upping the size of individual stores, and increasing the number of products available at each store. The chain built new stores in the expanding Western states and bought up rivals in the Midwest and West. But as the company increased its reach into the suburbs, it also consolidated many locations into superstores, eliminating the need for smaller neighborhood supermarkets.[121] Beginning in the 1960s, the industry had articulated a distinction between conventional stores, which in Safeway's case then carried about 7,500 items, and superstores, which held about 42,000

[120] Lou Trujillo, Vice President, Frozen Foods Division, Safeway, Inc., phone interview with the author, July 23, 2006. Trujillo explained that the company centralized decisions according to divisions such as frozen foods, health and beauty aids, etc., at the Pleasanton, CA, office. Safeway had 1,689 stores at the beginning of 2001, according to *Chain Store Guide 2001 Directory*, a2.

[121] Safeway had 2,451 stores in 1975 and 1,689 stores in 2001. In 1977 it was the largest grocery chain. In 2001 it was the third largest. *1977 Progressive Grocer's Marketing Guidebook* (New York: American Can Company, 1976), 19; *Chain Store Guide 2001 Directory*, a21. Industry publications such as *Progressive Grocer* abound with tales of consolidation and mergers in the 1990s.

items. Safeway began testing its superstore format in the 1960s, eventually shifting to mostly superstores after the conversion and construction of many stores during the 1980s. By 1992, the majority of the chain's outlets were superstores.[122]

The company touted a new superstore format it tested during the 1980s in Oklahoma, Texas, and California as most representative of the "changing retail food industry."[123] At that time, the conventional Safeway store, typically located in an old city or suburb, averaged 25,000 square feet, while the typical superstore was around 41,500 square feet. The super-stores included much broader sections for non-food items, stocking toiletries, auto parts, toys, and even pantyhose. They also had much more space devoted to food. By expanding meat and bakery displays and building delicatessens, take-out counters, soup and salad bars, and full-service seafood counters, the superstores sought to capture more business. Customers who had purchased fish, meats, bread, and motor oil at separate stores moved to one-stop shopping at the supermarket.[124] Between 1980 and 1994, the industry share of conventional supermarkets decreased from 85.0 percent to 49.1 percent, as superstores, combination stores, and warehouse stores filled

[122] *Annual Report, 1964, Safeway Stores, Inc*. (Oakland, CA: Safeway Stores, Inc., 1965), 11. 1992 was the first year for which superstores, defined by the company as 35,000 square feet or larger, formed the majority of Safeway's stores. That year there were 407 conventional supermarkets at an average of 26,200 square feet and there were 461 superstores, averaging 44,800 square feet each, *Safeway Inc., Annual Report, 1992* (Oakland, CA: Safeway Inc., 1993), 14. At the end of 1991, 49 percent of Safeway's stores were superstores. *Safeway Inc. Annual Report 1991* (Oakland, CA: Safeway Inc., 1992), 8.
[123] *Safeway Inc. Annual Report, 1982* (Oakland, CA: Safeway Inc., 1982), 32.
[124] The company said it operated 523 conventional supermarkets and 372 superstores at the end of 1988. *Annual Report* (Oakland, CA: Safeway Stores, Inc., 1988), 2-3. Though it is commonly said that Wal-Mart and other one-stop shopping establishments put butchers and bakers out of business, the number of "specialized foodstores" as measured by the Census of Retail Trade continued to rise from 1980 to 2000. These are defined by the USDA as foodstores "primarily engaged in the retail sale of a single food category such as meat and seafood markets, dairy stores, candy and nut stores, and retail bakeries." From 1992 to 1997, the number of specialized foodstores decreased slightly, but their sales increased. One type of specialized store, the butcher and fishmonger, declined, but other stores, such as bakeries, increased overall. See Harris et al., *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002,* 22-23, 58.

the void (see Table 2.2). Correspondingly, as stores got larger, the number of unique items carried in American grocery stores expanded from 14,000 to 25,000 between 1980 and 1994.[125]

[125] Anthony E. Gallo, *Food Marketing Review, 1994-95*, *AER#743* (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 1995), 28.

Table 2.2
Changing Supermarket Formats in the United States, 1980-1994

Supermarket Format[a]	Share of Supermarkets by Format		Sales Share of Supermarkets by Format	
	1980	1994	1980	1994
	Percent			
Conventional	85.0	49.1	73.1	28.2
Superstore	8.9	26.5	17.7	37.2
Combination	0.9	9.8	4.0	17.9
Warehouse/limited assortment	4.7	11.8	4.2	9.6
Superwarehouse	.5	2.1	1.0	5.6
Hypermarket	NA	0.7	NA	1.5

[a] The U.S. Department of Agriculture provides the following definitions for types of grocery stores (all quotes from source below):

- Conventional supermarket: A store that is primarily self-service in operation, provides a "full range of departments and has at least $2.5 million in annual sales (in 1985 dollars)."
- Superstore: "Greater size and variety of products than a conventional supermarket, including specialty and service departments, and a considerable inventory of general merchandise products."
- Combination store: Those that feature a "pharmacy, non-prescription drug department," and other health and beauty products.
- Warehouse store: Features fewer products than typical supermarkets but sells them in large volume.
- Superwarehouse: Has limited product variety, but is larger than warehouse stores and often has "full-service meat, delicatessen, and fresh seafood departments."
- Hypermarket: Includes a substantial proportion of non-food items (up to 40 percent of sales), combining a supermarket and department store.

Source: Anthony E. Gallo, *Food Marketing Review, 1994-95*, *AER#743* (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 1995), iv-v, 28.

Safeway's changes meant that over the course of the last few decades of the twentieth century Americans could buy a wider and wider variety of items at the typical supermarket. But because this supermarket was designed for one-stop shopping, it became the place where Americans bought the vast majority of their foods. As a result, consumers increasingly shared their food-shopping experience. And because large grocery chains such as Safeway centralized and expanded their operations, customers found the offerings at branches in Baltimore and San Francisco quite similar. The largest grocery chains controlled a large share of the market toward the end of the century. Furthermore, as supermarkets like Safeway and large food processors such as Kraft, Nabisco and Campbell Soup expanded overseas operations, the immigrants flocking to the United States came to know American brands and consumption practices before they departed from their home countries. So although Americans could find greater choices within a typical store, one-stop shopping and the consolidation of large grocers caused a homogenization of choices for the average American when it came to choosing *where* to shop for food on a regular basis.[126]

Increasingly, Americans were shopping at these supermarkets in the suburbs, for in the last half of the twentieth century, the American suburbs boomed.[127] The suburbs

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[126] On the growth and desirability of one-stop shopping, Paul R. Messinger and Chakravarthi Narasimhan, "A Model of Retail Formats Based on Consumers' Economizing of Shopping Time," *Marketing Science* 16.1 (1997): 1-23. On overseas expansion, see Terry Bivens, Ken Goldman and Charles Z. Yan, "Packaged Food, China: This Time It's for Real!" (New York: Bear Stearns Equity Research, May 2007). This report was generated to "better understand the market from the perspective of food processors" like Kraft, Heinz and General Mills to see if they could run "a Chinese business that meaningfully moves the corporate needle" like the "KFC restaurant chain." On consolidation and overseas operations, also see Harris et al., *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002*.

[127] "Population: Urban/Suburban/Rural" in *The First Measured Century*. The percentage of Americans living in the suburbs increased from a quarter to half the population from 1950 to 2000. The numbers are

were often characterized as homogenous, for their housing stock was typically constructed by mass production techniques. Kenneth Jackson has chronicled the architectural "monotony and repetition" of suburban houses and the "economic and racial homogeneity" of their occupants.[128]

The supermarkets that fueled those suburbanites living in similarly constructed houses also exhibited a certain sameness by the end of the twentieth century. In Boston and San Diego and points in-between, large chains dominated the grocery industry. The largest chains – Kroger, Albertson's, Safeway, Wal-Mart, Publix and Winn-Dixie held significant market shares in each of the regions that they focused. By 2001, Safeway, Albertson's and Costco stores together had a 60 percent market share for grocery sales in the Bay Area. Likewise, in the greater Phoenix area the top three chains together had a 56 percent market share and in the Washington-Baltimore metropolis the top three shared 61 percent of the market (See Table 2.3).[129]

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rough because some urban areas were an agglomeration of suburbs. The urban corridors between Milwaukee and Chicago or San Francisco and San Jose were essentially a series of suburbs.

[128] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 239-41.

[129] The San-Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA area market share had 735 total stores, including Safeway, Inc., with 156 stores and a 29.6 percent share, Albertson's Inc. with 134 stores and a 19.8 percent share, and Costco Wholesale Group with 22 stores and a 11.6 percent share. The Phoenix-Mesa area had 382 total stores with The Kroger Co. operating 85 stores at a 28.0 percent share, Safeway with 42 stores and a 16.7 percent share, and Basha's Inc. with 60 stores and a 12.2 percent share. The Washington DC-Baltimore area included several counties in Maryland, DC and Virginia and 795 total stores. Ahold USA had 168 stores and a 28.1 percent market share (Giant Food Store and Stop & Shop are its largest store names), Safeway 119 stores and a 21.0 percent market share, and SUPERVALU with 63 stores and a 12.2 percent market share. All market share figures from *Chain Store Guide 2001*, a47-a99, 452-53

Table 2.3 **Supermarket Chains Dominate Regional Sales, 2001**				
	Regional Market Share for Top 3 Supermarket Chains (%)			
Region	**Largest Chain**	**2nd Largest Chain**	**3rd Largest Chain**	**Total of Top 3 Chains**
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha	Albertson's[a] 25.3	Safeway 23.3	SUPERVALU 5.5	**54.1**
Dallas-Fort Worth	Albertson's 18.7	Kroger 14.0	Minyard 13.7	**46.4**
Los Angeles-Long Beach	Kroger 25.3	Safeway 18.0	Albertson's 14.1	**57.4**
Phoenix-Mesa	Kroger 28.0	Safeway 16.7	Basha's 12.2	**61.0**
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose	Safeway 29.6	Albertson's 19.8	Costco 11.6	**61.0**
Washington DC-Baltimore	Ahold USA 28.1	Safeway 21.0	SUPERVALU 12.2	**61.3**

[a] A number of large national chains kept the brand names of regional chains even after consolidation. In the Chicago area, for example, Albertson's operated Jewel-Osco stores and Safeway ran the Dominick's regional stores. Kroger operated the Ralph's stores in Los Angeles and the Fry's stores in Phoenix. In Washington DC, Ahold USA ran the Giant Food and Stop & Shop stores.

Sources: Market share data from *Chain Store Guide 2001*, a47-a99, 52-53, 135. Supplementary information from *2005 Marketing Guidebook: The Blue Book of Supermarket Distribution* (Wilton, CT: TradeDimensions International, 2004).

Some chain stores dominated market share by buying competitors. Between 1998 and 2001, some of the largest grocery chains bought competitors or their subsidiaries. During those three years, Ahold USA, a subsidiary of the Dutch company Royal Ahold, purchased 169 Bruno's supermarkets in the southeast and 176 Giant Food supermarkets in the Washington, DC, area. The third-largest supermarket chain, Safeway, bought three different chains in the period, including Randall's of Texas, Dominick's of Chicago, and Genuardi's of the northeast, for a total of 270 stores. And Kroger, the largest chain, took over 74 Winn-Dixie stores in Oklahoma and Texas in 2001. Significantly, the largest eight chains accounted for 26.6 percent of total U.S. grocery sales in 1994. By 2000, those chains had gained market share, accounting for 40.5 percent of sales.[130]

Table 2.4
Increased Concentration in the Grocery Business

Year	4 Largest Retailers	8 Largest Retailers	20 Largest Retailers
1994	17.0	26.6	40.9
2000	27.4	40.5	52.0

Source: Data for 1994 from Gallo, *Food Marketing Review, 1994-95*, 27. Data for 2000 from Harris et. al, *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002,* 21-29.

Other chains, most notably Wal-Mart, made significant inroads in the grocery business in the late 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century. Wal-Mart grew incredibly during the 1990s, as its revenues shot from $33 billion in 1991 to $191 billion in 2002. According to some estimates, by 2002 it was the largest grocery retailer in the United States, largely because it could operate on smaller profit margins for its food

[130] Data for 1994 from Gallo, *Food Marketing Review, 1994-95*, 27. Data for 2000 from Harris et al., *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002,* 21-29.

items. In the 1990s, Wal-Mart managers found that the addition of grocery products to existing stores raised sales on nonfood goods by 30 percent.[131] Wal-Mart's supercenters lured shoppers with groceries and low prices on everything, hoping customers would buy t-shirts, electronics, or furniture after buying food. Because it can price below cost in its food business, Wal-Mart has struck fear in the hearts of grocery chain managers. Wal-Mart's share of U.S. grocery sales leapt from 3.9 percent to 24.7 percent from 1999 to 2005, and the company was still growing.[132] In 2005, it had planned to open at least forty supercenters in California, and by then it was the largest grocery retailer in the nation.[133] One response by the large retailers to such competition was a refocusing of efforts on specialty and ethnic foods, including sales to Asian and Hispanic populations, and that of high-price gourmet items. H.E.B., a large Texas chain, created its Central Market stores to attract gourmet shoppers. The Kroger chain did the same with "Signature" stores to respond to neighborhood demographics, including ethnic makeup.[134]

Wal-Mart became a giant in the grocery business by using data processing to give it an edge in supply chain management. In the case of supermarkets, controlling the

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[131] "Making Global Markets" in Lichtenstein, ed., *Wal-Mart*, 107, 123. For 2002 sales figures, see Jack Plunkett, *Plunkett's Food Industry Almanac* (Houston: Plunkett Research, Ltd., 2003), 9-10.
[132] Wal-Mart's retail share figure cited at "Food Industry Consolidation," *Produce Marketer's Association*, http://new.pma.com/cig/intl/usMarketAndTrends.cfm (accessed August 8, 2007).
[133] Lichtenstein, ed., x. Wal-Mart took over the top grocery retail spot, as measured by sales, in 2002. It was also the "greatest gainer" in terms of the number of stores during 2003. *2005 Marketing Guidebook: The Blue Book of Supermarket Distribution* (Wilton, CT: TradeDimensions International, 2004), 30, 44.
[134] Plunkett, *Plunkett's Food Industry Almanac*, 9-10. The influence of Wal-Mart in the industry was echoed by Steve Tsujimoto, Director, Marketing Support, Northern California Division, Safeway, Inc., interview with the author, Pleasanton, CA, July 21, 2006; Chuck Rodgers, Manager, Division Operations, Merchandising/Non Perishables, Safeway, Inc., interview with the author, Pleasanton, CA, July 21, 2006; David Bennett, Founder and President, Mollie Stone's, interview with the author, San Mateo, CA, July 28, 2006. On the overall impact of Wal-Mart on the American economy, see the articles in Lichtenstein, ed., *Wal-Mart*; Heller and McTaggart, "The Search for Growth," *Progressive Grocer*, April 15, 2004, 31-41.

supply chain meant the ability to reduce both waste and storage space on the shelves and in the backroom. Though Wal-Mart was the mover and shaker in this realm, the broader information revolution had been in process for decades.[135] In the 1960s, Safeway moved in the direction of many large corporations – it began using computers to track inventories and sales. In 1966, the company established a central data processing unit at its Oakland headquarters so it could more efficiently manage its operations.[136] Like Safeway, chip-giant Frito Lay realized the advantages of data processing and introduced it to its operations in the 1970s. During that decade the company also first sold its snack foods nationally, and by the early 1980s it was micromarketing, or targeting specific consumer segments by region, age, and other criteria to extend profits. By 1986 it had created a central computing facility to track the delivery of each bag of chips each day. New stocking instructions were created every night by the data processor and sent to a network of 161 regional minicomputers and 10,000 hand-held computers. The end-result was the elimination of 500 delivery trucks by the reconfiguration of routes. In this process, Frito-Lay could tell what sold and where, enhancing its marketing strategies in particular regions.[137] Supermarkets and food processors like Frito Lay were able to track sales via the use of barcode scanners at the checkout. In the early 1970s, retailers and the federal government together standardized Uniform Product Codes (UPC) and

[135] Kinsey, "A Faster, Leaner, Supply Chain," 1123-29.
[136] *Annual Report*, *Safeway Inc.* (Pleasanton, CA: Safeway Inc., 2000), 6.
[137] This description of Frito Lay's operations is borrowed from Barbara E. Kahn and Leigh McAlister, *Grocery Revolution: The New Focus on the Consumer* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1997), 8-10. Frito-Lay distributed its products to over 440,000 retail outlets by 2006. It merged with PepsiCo in 1965. By 2006, PepsiCo owned many of the most recognized consumer brands in world, including Pepsi Cola, Doritos, Frito-Lay, Tropicana, Quaker Cereals, and Lipton Tea. *PepsiCo Annual Report, 2006* (Purchase, NY: PepsiCo, 2007) http://www.pepsico.com/PEP_Investors/AnnualReports/06/PepsiCo2006Annual.pdf (accessed September 3, 2007), 13.

supermarkets were the first retailers to use them. In 1980, only about 14 percent of grocery stores had scanners, but by 2000, they were in 97 percent of stores.[138] Lastly, Wal-Mart pushed many supermarkets to test technological innovations in the 1980s and 1990s as it slowly entered the grocery business. As one commentator explained, retailers like Wal-Mart illuminated the fact that supermarket distribution systems were "not so efficient after all."[139] In a 2004 survey, grocery industry members listed Wal-Mart as the second worst problem for their business, surpassed only by health insurance costs. Wal-Mart had not registered as a concern in the 1990 survey.[140]

The innovations that struck fear in the hearts of other grocery chains owners also caused them to change. In response, they streamlined inventories and responded to the demand for "convenience" from customers. Streamlining was accomplished in its most basic form by adapting elements of just-in-time inventory management. In this system, cookies, crackers, and other products are delivered to retailers just as they are needed, based on information about recent sales derived from checkout scanners. From scanner data, a supermarket's central computer system could determine that there was only one jar of Bertolli 16 oz. extra-virgin olive oil on the shelf at 5 PM on August 12, 2005. The

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[138] Kahn and McAlister, *Grocery Revolution*, 38; Jay Coggins and Ben Senauer, "Grocery Retailing," in *U.S. Industry in 2000: Studies in Competitive Performance* (Washington DC: The National Academy Press, 1999), 159. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, supermarkets were testing grocery carts with scanners attached to them. See Terry Hennessy, "The Front-end Frontier" *Progressive Grocer*, April 2000, 93-96; Robert F. King and Paul F. Phumpiu, "Reengineering the Food Supply Chain: The ECR Initiative in the Grocery Industry" Proceedings Issue, *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 78.5 (1996): 1181-86.

[139] Coggins and Senauer, "Grocery Retailing," 156.

[140] For the 2004 survey, "Problem Severity Index" in Heller and McTaggart, "The Search for Growth," *Progressive Grocer*, April 15, 2004, 31-41. For the 1990 survey, *Progressive Grocer's 1992 Marketing Guidebook*, 18-19. Wal-Mart not only competed well in terms of supply chain innovation, but also had much lower labor costs than most grocery chains, many of which were unionized. See the preface and various essays in Lichtenstein, ed., *Wal-Mart*, ix- xii, 213-83.

system is then programmed to order three bottles of the oil to be delivered directly to the display shelf the next day. The just-in-time process ensures that the item is never out of stock and that the store need not keep bottles of the oil in the back, thereby saving on-site storage space. Computer inventory-management systems also had the benefit of giving more accurate data to supermarket owners about sales. As a result, owners realized that consumers wanted more convenience and greater selection at individual stores.[141] Supermarket chains like Safeway responded by simultaneously turning to one-stop shopping *and* expanding the exotic and specialty items within their stores. Their data told them that customers wanted pineapples and mangos, but they also wanted them cut and packaged for convenience to add to the "sense of theater and service that modern supermarkets are looking to offer."[142]

The desire for consistency and homogeneity drove the increasing presence of "value-added," products, such as those cut and packaged fruits and vegetables. "Value-added" refers to the process whereby foods have value added to them as they move along the food marketing chain to the consumer. Of course, lettuce can be sold directly from farmer to consumer without even being washed. In that case, no value is added to the original act of growing the lettuce. Alternately, lettuce can be washed, trimmed, sorted, and packaged in plastic as "Romaine hearts" to be sold in a supermarket, with the value of each of those activities added along the way. The package of Romaine hearts will sell for two to three times more than the simple bunch of Romaine. Value-added products

[141] Coggins and Senauer, "Grocery Retailing," 156-75.
[142] Richard Turcsik and Walter Heller, "Produce Persona" *Progressive Grocer*, October 2000, 59-63.

such as packaged greens have captured a larger share of the food business over the years, especially in high-income nations such as the United States, Japan, and Germany, where processed foods account for around half of all food sales.[143] Some farmers and processors copied the success of these lettuce packs and developed other packaged fresh produce offerings. Brandt Farms, a California fruit grower, sold a "Grab and Bake" cobbler kit that contained 1.75 pounds of fresh peaches, nectarines, or plums, and seven ounces of "Whistlestop Caboose Cobbler Mix." Shoppers are instructed to "just add melted butter and bake" for a "delicious 9-inch cobbler."[144] In these products, consumers are convinced they are eating fresh foods and making something from "scratch," even though the peach farm does most of the work. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, food processors created cake mixes that still required a couple steps – adding eggs and mixing the ingredients. These mixes made the housewife feel as if she still had a role in making the cake from scratch and the added benefit of smelling the cake baking in the oven.[145] Produce companies found a way to give customers the same feeling of making something from scratch. Customers believed they were creating a unique product, even if their peach cobbler came out roughly the same as the next purchaser's.

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[143] Mark Gehlhar and Anita Regmi, "Shopping the Global Market for High-Value Foods," *Agricultural Outlook*, December 2002, ERS-USDA, 38-42.

[144] "Turn your tree fruit sales up a notch," Brandt Farms Treeripe Home, http://www.treeripe.com/index.htm (accessed June 22, 2007).

[145] Laura Shapiro describes how the companies theorized that women wanted to add something to the cake mix. This was not the only factor – dehydrated egg was not a suitable substitute for the real thing, and the cake mix left more time for women to decorate cakes, meaning a boost in sales of frosting and cake decorations. Eventually, many women came to see making cakes from a cake mix as "homemade" (as opposed to making it entirely from separate ingredients). See *Something from the Oven: Reinventing Dinner in 1950s America* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 68-84; See also, "Box Score" *Gourmet*, August 2002, at http://www.epicurious.com/gourmet/kitchen_notebook/cake (accessed September 3, 2007).

In addition to value-added goods, both Americans and those in developing nations increasingly spend a large portion of their food budgets on other processed foods made by large corporations. These are the crackers, cookies, soups and soft drinks that are commonplace in American supermarkets. Major processors based in the United States and Europe, such as Nestlé (Switzerland), Unilever (U.K), and Altria (U.S.), expanded their operations to China, India, Mexico and Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s as incomes rose in those nations. In lower- and middle-income nations, the share of processed food sales has historically been low, but that has changed of late.[146] The processors have a tight relationship with Wal-Mart and other large retailers who feature their brands, and in many instances, even shape their products.[147] Processors also looked to open the great China market, one that has long lured American corporations and entrepreneurs. Kraft, Campbell Soup, and other large processors hope Chinese consumers will take to their packaged foods.[148] Completing the trade circle, a large portion of the goods sold at the typical Wal-Mart come from China. By one estimate, Wal-Mart's purchases alone form about 10 percent of the overall goods exported by China to the United States.[149] The company located its global purchasing headquarter in Shenzhen in 2002 to control this

[146] Gehlhar and Regmi, "Shopping the Global Market for High-Value Foods," 38-42.
[147] On Wal-Mart's connections to the food processors, see, "Making Global Markets" in Lichenstein, ed., *Wal-Mart*, 107-41; Jonathan P. Feeney, John Baumgartner, and John P. San Marco, "800 Lb. Gorilla Goes on a Diet," Equity Research Report, (New York: Wachovia Capital Markets, LLC, 2007).
[148] On the search for the China market by food processors, see Bivens et. al, "Packaged Food, China"; Fred Ruppel, "Globalization of the Processed Foods Market: Part One: U.S. Trade in Processed Foods," *Agricultural Outlook,* January-February 1997. On the long allure of the China market for U.S. goods, see William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1972), 34-57; Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963), 408-417; Thomas J. McCormick, "Insular Possessions for the China Market," in Thomas G. Paterson, ed., *American Imperialism & Anti-Imperialism* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1973), 64-73.
[149] "Making Global Markets," in Lichtenstein, ed., *Wal-Mart*, 140.

supply line. It has also set up shop in China at a rapid pace in recent years, building its first supercenter in Shenzhen in 1996 and growing to 86 total stores by 2007.[150]

The increased prevalence of supermarket chains and food manufacturers in Asia and Latin American meant that immigrants from those continents have become more familiar with the brands and shopping experiences that one would find in the United States. Wal-Mart, Safeway, and H.E.B. are three American companies that expanded their reach in Mexico during the 1990s.[151] In 1990, supermarkets accounted for around 10-20 percent of food sales in Latin America. By 2000, they accounted for around 50-60 percent.[152] Mexicans were the largest immigrant group to the U.S. during the 1990s, and Mexican immigrants could be seen shopping in the same stores in Houston and Los Angeles that they patronized in Mexico City.[153] Major American supermarket chains consciously used their experience in foreign countries to market to customers in the United States. One Wal-Mart executive, John Menzer, has acted as both head of the International and U.S. divisions, using experience in each to the inform practices in the other. He said the retail giant used the same "product assortment" in stores in Mexico and Puerto Rico as it did in U.S. stores with large Mexican American and Puerto Rican populations. One tangible crossover was the sale of cakes specially made for the *quinceañera*, or the celebration when a girl turns fifteen, an important occasion for many

[150] Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., "Wal-Mart China Data Sheet," http://www.wal-martchina.com/english/walmart/wminchinainfo.htm (accessed September 6, 2007).
[151] H.E.B., and Casa Ley, for which Safeway, Inc., has a 49 percent share, are both American companies that have expanded operations in Mexico in the 1990s and early part of the twenty-first century. Wal-Mart is now the largest supermarket operator in Mexico. Schwentesius and Gómez, "Supermarkets in Mexico," 492.
[152] Reardon and Berdegué, "The Rapid Rise of Supermarkets in Latin America," 371-384.
[153] *2001 Statistical Yearbook of the INS*, 5-9.

families in Mexico and Puerto Rico. The company was even considering a gift registry for the event.[154]

The homogenizing effect of globalization has been studied rather widely with respect to the increased consumption of American products such as McDonald's and Coca-Cola abroad.[155] Two fundamental impacts of globalization that are important, but less studied, are the cultural and economic effects of globalization on the United States, and the manner in which immigrants become human traffickers in consumption habits as they experience the effects of globalization in *more* than one region or nation.[156]

Sameness and Diversity in a Tortilla

One case in point for the compound effect of globalization and immigration on home consumption is the tortilla. With a food like the tortilla, immigrants become the embodiment of sameness and diversity in consumption. Mexican immigrants have been partly responsible for greater tortilla consumption in the United States over the last thirty years, but the massive nature of Mexican immigration during that period has also

[154] Don Longo, "Wal-Mart, Still at Large," *Progressive Grocer*, January 1, 2006, 38-39. On labor and competition issues concerning Wal-Mart in Mexico, see Chris Tilly, "Wal-Mart in Mexico: The Limits of Growth," in Lichtenstein, ed., *Wal-Mart*, 189-209.
[155] Claude Fischler, "The 'McDonaldization' of Culture," and Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, "Today and Tomorrow," in Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari eds., *Food: A Culinary History*, English edition by Albert Sonnenfeld (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 530-53; Watson, ed., *McDonald's in East Asia*.
[156] Schwentesius and Gómez, "Supermarkets in Mexico," 487-502.

introduced a degree of sameness in this consumption, for as tortilla consumption became industrialized and homogenized in Mexico, so too it did in the United States.[157]

The influx of Mexicans to the United States was quite dramatic over the course of the late twentieth century. Of the more than 24 million immigrants who entered the United States legally during the 1961-2000 timeframe, more than a fifth came from Mexico, or just under 5 million.[158] Added to that were a large number of illegal immigrants from Mexico. Though it is difficult to get a precise handle on the origin or number of illegal immigrants in the country, there were certainly a large number from Mexico during this period. The Immigration and Naturalization Service estimated that in 1996 about 2.7 million illegal immigrants from Mexico resided in the United States.[159] Added to the immigration figures was the long-standing history of Mexican culture in the Southwest and the high growth rates for Mexican-American families during this period.[160] Taken together, Mexican-American culture experienced a renaissance during the post-1960s period. Here, that renaissance is examined via the tortilla.

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[157] The discussion below owes a great debt to the work of Jeffrey M. Pilcher, especially *¡Que Vivan los Tamales!: Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

[158] The exact numbers were 24,248,500 immigrants entering the United States from 1961 to 2000, of which 4,999,495 came from Mexico. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *2001 Statistical Yearbook of the INS*, 6-9.

[159] This estimate is from The figure above comes from Immigration and Naturalization Service, *2000 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service,* (Washington DC: Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2002), Table N.

[160] The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention calculated that in 1990 the fertility rate (births per 1000 women, ages 15 to 44) for Mexican Americans was 118.9, compared to 107.7 for Hispanics overall, and 70.9 for the whole U.S. population. The data reflected the race and ethnicity of the mother only. "Childbearing Patterns among Selected Racial/Ethnic Minority Groups – United States, 1990," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 42:20 (1993): 398-403. The family growth rate can also be viewed in the increased enrollment of Hispanic children in public schools. Though "Hispanic" includes many other ethnic groups, such as Salvadorans, Cubans, and Dominicans, Mexicans were still the largest subgroup in the United States within the Hispanic category. In 1993-94, Hispanics accounted for 12.7 percent of the public

The tortilla has long been an essential component for Mexican and Central American food, but tortilla production and consumption in the United States has grown over the last several decades, just as its production has changed in Mexico too. Tortilla consumption in the United States is not entirely new. In the Southwest, tortillas and other components of Mexican food have been eaten for years.[161] One menu from a San Francisco Mexican restaurant in the 1950s felt no need to explain tostadas, tortillas, or even mole sauce, but that was not the case throughout the country.[162] Even by the 1980s, tortillas were unfamiliar enough to most American consumers that they needed to be explained in detail on many menus. At Pepe's, a Mexican restaurant at the tourist-heavy Pier 39 in San Francisco, the menu explained that tortillas were a "staple" for the Aztecs, and they were served basically "unchanged" there. The menu further advised that diners should enjoy tortillas "in the Mexican fashion; hold the tortilla flat in one hand, butter it, add the hot sauce (sparingly at first), roll and eat," adding, not surprisingly, that they "particularly recommend tortillas with a Frosty Margarita."[163] Across the country in Timonium, Maryland, the Mexican restaurant chain Chi-Chi's offered similar counsel to

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school population. By 2005-06, Hispanics accounted for 19.8 percent. See Rick Fry, "The Changing Racial and Ethnic Composition of U.S. Public Schools," August 30, 2007, http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=79 (accessed March 20, 2008).

[161] The tortilla was eaten in what are now the southwestern states of the United States before European conquest and when Spain and Mexico controlled those lands. Jeffrey M. Pilcher, "Tex-Mex, Cal-Mex, New-Mex, or whose Mex? Notes on the historical geography of Southwestern cuisine," *Journal of the Southwest* 43.4 (2001): 659-80. See also Sophie Coe, *America's First Cuisines* (Austin: University of Texas, 1994), 145-8.

[162] Menu, Sinaloa Mexican Cantina Restaurant, San Francisco, California, (no date – circa 1950s), California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library, San Francisco, CA (hereafter CHS), Folder - Menu Collection – San Francisco - S. This restaurant, established in 1914, advertised three shows nightly, "continuous entertainment" and claimed it was a "spot of Old Mexico in the heart of San Francisco." The menu's front cover showed the arms of two men tipping their caps, one meant to be Uncle Sam wearing stars and stripes, and another, a Mexican officer tipping a sombrero.

[163] Menu, Pepe's, Pier 39, San Francisco, CA, 1980, CCSF, Folder, Calif – San Francisco, Ethnic/Mexican,.

diners. The back of its menu had a full-page spread titled "Mexican Kitchen Talk." There the basic components of Mexican food were translated – tacos, enchiladas, tostadas, and tamales – along with a pronunciation guide. Tacos were "Taco (TAH-ko) - The traditional Mexican 'sandwich,'" and tortillas were "Tortilla (Tor-TEE-yah) - Bread with a Mexican accent – *the* south-of-the-border basic."[164] A very similar explanation could be found in one cookbook published in 1980 in which the author felt a need to explain the distinction between Mexican tortillas "made from cornmeal" and Spanish tortilla, which was an omelet.[165] So although Americans, particularly in the Southwestern states, had been eating Mexican food for decades, it apparently still needed explanation for many diners.[166] Perhaps Pepe's felt necessarily to explain Mexican cuisine because tourists from around the world walked the slats of Pier 39. Few tourists would visit the Timonium Chi-Chi's branch, however, and even a Southern California Mexican restaurant chain, El

[164] Menu, Chi-Chi's, Timonium, Maryland, Copyrighted 1980, taken by customer on September 21, 1983, New York Public Library, Rare Books Division, Humanities and Social Sciences Library, Main Branch, New York, NY (hereafter NYPLM), #1983-0007.
[165] Paulucci, *Cookbook from a Melting Pot*, 221-224. Quote on 221.
[166] A newspaper story about Mexican restaurants in San Francisco from 1923 makes unfettered reference to tortillas, mole, and chiles without explaining what they are. Perhaps this was due to high Mexican immigration rates during the 1920s. See "Spanish-Mexican" by Robert H. Willson, from San Francisco Examiner, December 2, 1923 collected in Robert H. Willson and George and Emilia Hodel, *Foreign Nationalities in San Francisco* (San Francisco, CA: 1951), San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, CA (hereafter SFHC). Taco stands could be found in profusion around Southern California, for example, during the 1950s. Andrew F. Smith, "Tacos, Enchiladas, and Refried Beans: The Invention of Mexican-American Cookery," Paper Presented at Oregon State University, 1999, http://food.oregonstate.edu/ref/culture/mexico_smith.html (accessed November 26, 2006). One study of Mexican and Mexican American consumption habits in Mexico City and Tucson found high consumption levels of "packaged, prepared tortillas" for both Anglos and Mexican-Americans in Tucson, Arizona. It also found low levels of consumption of the packaged variety in Mexico, leading the authors to conclude that Mexicans in Mexico were still preparing tortillas at home. Melanie Wallendorf and Michael D. Reilly, "Ethnic Migration, Assimilation, and Consumption," *The Journal of Consumer Research* 10.3 (1983): 292-302.

Torito, gave a pronunciation guide for the tortilla and explained that it was the "Mexican version of bread."[167]

Twenty years later few menus thought it necessary to explain tacos or tortillas.[168] They were already a part of the wider American food lexicon, so much so that the tortilla was used to explain *other* ethnic cuisines. One magazine article extolled the joys of Indian-fusion cuisine but still warned against some combinations that resulted in culinary "confusion." A dish combining "cinnamon-spiced buffalo meat in a shell of tortilla-like Indian bread, matched with mint and mango chutney and served on mixed greens," was enough to cause diners to retreat to the "nearest burger joint."[169] The tortilla was used to explain what was probably a *chapathi*, a flat, round, whole wheat Indian bread that is much like a tortilla – so much so that Indian immigrants in the U.S. were known to buy hand tortilla presses from specialty stores to recreate tortillas at home.[170]

Americans without vestiges of Mexican heritage slowly increased their tortilla consumption between the 1970s and 1990s. During the 1970s, tortillas had moved out of a small space in most California supermarkets to a prominent end-of-aisle display. And at many stores, tortillas were so common they were simply lumped in with the rest of the

[167] Menu, El Torito Restaurants, Inc., Irvine, California, reprinted in *Great Menus 1985* (Washington DC: National Restaurant Association, 1986).
[168] See Menu, La Festa, San Bruno, CA, circa 1990s, CCSF, Folder, Ethnic-Mexican; Menu, Acapulco Restaurants, Inc., 1991, CCSF, Folder, Ethnic-Mexican (the chain listed 48 California locations, mostly in the Southern region); Menu of the Chipotle restaurant chain at http://www.chipotle.com/#flash/food_menu (accessed September 3, 2007).
[169] Linda Kulman, "Hotter than Ginger Spice," *U.S. News and World Report*, June 15, 1998, http://www.usnews.com/usnews/culture/articles/990322/archive_000552.htm (accessed January 27, 2007).
[170] Sri Devi Rangaraj, Olympia Fields, IL, phone interview with the author, April 5, 2004.

bread.[171] Tom Caron, a director of marketing for one frozen Mexican entrees manufacturer remarked in 1980 that "The Mexican food category is experiencing in excess of 30 percent growth per year and this growth is going from the Southwest region of the country, into the Midwest and is moving outward"[172] By the 1990s, some stores were building large tortilla presses within the retail space. A H-E-B vice president explained that his chain built a press at a majority "Hispanic" San Antonio branch because "around here, tortillas are like bread." The press was enclosed in glass as an attraction for the "kids."[173] Stores that did not primarily serve Hispanic customers built the mechanical presses for that same sense of theater – a machine pumping out hot tortillas was a way to attract the uninitiated. The president of one small gourmet grocery chain in Northern California explained, "we don't sell tortillas to Hispanic people," and that his chain did not "appeal to the immigrant customer." His stores did sell plenty of tortillas to "Anglo" customers in 12-packs, but he explained that Hispanic immigrants in

[171] The trade magazine *Progressive Grocer* shows the progression of tortillas from the "impulse buy" category to a regular purchase for both Mexican and non-Mexican customers. See "QFI Helps Sales with an Ethnic Case," *Progressive Grocer*, January 1973, 94; Robert Dietrich, "As Easy as ABC: An Independent Brings Scanning to the Inner City," *Progressive Grocer,* September 1981, 123. In this article, Paul Kodimer, President of ABC Markets Corp. in South Central Los Angeles, said that tortilla sales had recently "gone wild" in his store. See "Taco and Tortilla Chips Offered" *Progressive Grocer*, February 1972, 126, about how Wise Foods, a snack food manufacturer, first added tortilla chips to its product line. Tortilla chips were first listed as a separate food category in *Progressive Grocer* in its July 1978 issue. A typical story from a restaurant trade magazine in 1983 said, "Mexican cuisine, has also been growing in popularity this year. A long-time favorite of the western states, its ethnic dishes are quickly becoming accepted nationwide." Elyse Cuttler, *NRA News*, December 1982.

[172] Tom Caron was director of marketing for Happy Joe's Foods, a division of Tony's Pizza Service that manufactured frozen Mexican entrees. Quote in Mary Ann Linsen, "Three Hot Specialty Departments Where Grocery is Growing," *Progressive Grocer*, October 1980, 129.

[173] Marjorie Wold, H-E-B's new look: from salsa to sushi (H-E-B Marketplace)," *Progressive Grocer*, September 1991, 86-88. Quote from Paul Madure, vice president, store development, H-E-B. The Tianguis chain, owned by Von's in Southern California, also built these presses in the 1990s. Marian Burros, "Supermarkets Reach out to Hispanic Customers," *New York Times,* July 18, 1990.

the Bay Area bought tortillas in 36- and 96-packs at the Safeway, Albertson's or Costco.[174]

As American consumers, both Hispanic and non-Hispanic, ate more tortillas and they became a common feature in stores across the country, tortilla production and consumption was changing in the U.S. and Mexico. In the United States, tortilla manufacturing was a niche ethnic foods industry through the 1980s, existing mostly to serve Mexican-American communities in the Southwest. In that role, small tortilla plants could make decent profits selling to their niche market. But as many more Mexicans immigrated to the United States and more non-Mexicans in the United States ate tortillas, the industry changed.[175] Mexican food as a whole was moving out of regional consumption in the Southwest to the rest of the country.[176] In Mexico, tortilla production had already shifted from a domestic, labor-intensive activity to one supplanted and supplemented by industrial aid. And together, in the United States and Mexico, the development of dehydrated tortilla flour was transformative. It meant that women could skip the laborious steps of cooking and grinding the corn. The dehydrated flour could be turned easily into *tortilla masa,* or dough, just by adding water. Over time, large tortilla manufacturers and grocery chains used processed corn flour. The market was dominated

[174] David Bennett, founder and President, Mollie Stone's, interview with the author, July 28, 2006, San Mateo, CA.
[175] I use the term "Mexicans" here to refer to the predominant immigrant group eating tortillas in the United States. From the 1970s forward, immigration from Guatemala and El Salvador was large and immigrants from both nations ate tortillas too, but it was Mexican immigrants and Mexican food in the United States that are most associated with tortilla consumption.
[176] Linsen, "Three Hot Specialty Departments Where Grocery is Growing," 129. Del Monte Foods introduced a line of frozen burritos in 1981, Advertisement, C20, *Progressive Grocer*, October 1981. See also Robert McCarthy, "Consumer Watch: Supermarkets Listen for That Resounding 'Ole,'" *Progressive Grocer*, August 1982, 32.

by the brand name, Maseca, produced by the GRUMA company. By combining this processed meal and industrial tortilla presses, the industry changed dramatically.[177]

The El Galindo tortilla company is emblematic of the changes in tortilla production and consumption in the United States and Mexico over the last half of the twentieth century, thereby illustrating shifting ethnic food consumption during that period. By the early twenty-first century, Allen Dark owned the Austin, Texas-based company and oversaw manufacturing and distribution of the company's two main products, tortillas and tortilla chips. El Galindo shipped to stores and restaurants around the United States, including those in Austin, Dallas, Houston, Georgia and New Jersey. Whereas it once served a mostly Mexican-American clientele, El Galindo now specializes in what Dark termed a "niche market" for consumers who want "traditional" products. His tortillas fit within the "specialty product" category because, according to Dark, they have "a lot of taste but cost more" than other brands. In addition to corn and flour tortillas, El Galindo manufactures organic and spelt tortillas. In 2004, the organic

[177] Jeffrey M. Pilcher catalogs the move from a homebound, labor-intensive tortilla-making to the industrial dominance of the Maseca consortium by the 1990s in "Industrial *Tortillas* and Folkloric Pepsi: The Nutritional Consequences of Hybrid Cuisines in Mexico," in Belasco and Scranton eds., *Food Nations*, 222-29, and *¡Que Vivan los Tamales!*, 99-111; See also "About GRUMA: Timeline," http://www.gruma.com/vIng/Acerca/acerca_historia.asp (accessed August 25, 2007). GRUMA, the tortilla flour maker, and Grupo Industrial Bimbo S.A., a large food processor, both had large operations in the United States by the turn of the twenty-first century. The Grupo Bimbo company, which made breads in the United States under the Bimbo Bakeries USA subsidiary, operated 13 plants in the United States in 2008, compared to its 42 in Mexico. The American plants operated under the Mrs. Baird's, Tia Rosa, and Oroweat names, mostly in Texas and California. See Christine Bolling and Agapi Somwaru, "U.S. Food Companies Access Foreign Markets through Direct Investments," *Food Review* 24.3 (2001): 25; Chris Bolling, Javier Calderon Elizalde, and Charles Handy, "U.S. Firms Invest in Mexico's Processed Food Industry," *Food Review* 22.2 (1999): 29; Grupo Bimbo, "Plants," and "Brands," http://www.grupobimbo.com (accessed February 20, 2008).

and spelt versions cost around 30 cents each compared to a few pennies for a common tortilla.[178]

Dark purchased El Galindo in 1996 from the Galindo family who had run the business for decades. Founded as El Fenix in 1940 by Tomas Galindo, Sr., and his wife, Josepha, the two ran the small tortilla factory with their family in Austin until 1972, when their son, Tomas, Jr., and daughter-in-law Ernestine bought it, changing the name to El Galindo in 1973.[179] In the early years of the business, the tortilla factory had also featured a gift shop with Mexican potteries and housewares, and Tomas Galindo, Sr., was active in the Central Texas Mexican-American community.[180] The factory sold tortillas to a few local grocery stores, restaurants, and sorority houses, but did not distribute widely. It had prospered over the years by primarily serving the many Mexicans who came to the U.S. beginning in the 1940s to fill World War II employment shortages, and "as more Mexicans came across the border, [tortilla manufacturing] became good business," said Dark. Dark explained that from the 1940s to the 1980s, Mexican food manufacturing consisted of many mom and pop operations, of which El Galindo was one.[181] Between the 1970s and the 1990s, Tomas Galindo, Jr., and Ernestine expanded their operations

[178]All quotes from Allen Dark, President and owner, El Galindo, Inc., Austin, TX, telephone interview with the author, February 9, 2004. Confirming Dark's estimate, a 90-tortilla package of Mission Foods brand corn tortillas sold for $2.79 at an Austin, Texas, H-E-B grocery store in February 2004
[179] S.A. Eckert, "The good that can come when you're 'Not too good to do anything.'" *Nation's Business*, October 1990, 14-15.
[180] Galindo Family Papers, ca. 1867-1950. Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin.
[181] Allen Dark, interview with the author, February 9, 2004.

from a six-employee company to over a hundred, selling to many more restaurants and groceries throughout Texas as Mexican food's popularity surged.[182]

By the 1990s, El Galindo was floundering, and ironically its troubles resulted from the surging popularity of Mexican food. Allen Dark was hired then by the family as a consultant who specialized in helping "companies in trouble" before he purchased the company. He explained that although "people in California and Texas have always been familiar with Mexican food," that familiarity had spread recently to the rest of the United States, creating a "snowball effect" for Mexican food in the 1990s. Those who "previously wouldn't recognize a Mexican person started eating Mexican food" in that decade, said Dark. Widening consumption necessitated a change in production, and large manufacturers took hold of the tortilla market. In the mid-1990s, Steve Foster, then a vice president for El Galindo, said that major companies were "expanding into new markets," and that McDonald's and Burger King "increase demand" for tortillas "by advertising products like breakfast tacos. People now know there's more things you can do with a tortilla."[183] He added that as a result, large baking companies entered the tortilla landscape in the United States. Allen Dark lamented these large producers' ability to pay

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[182] On the Galindo family history and the company, see also, Susanna Person, "Tortilla Cos. Press On," *Austin Business Journal*, October 6-12, 1995, in Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, AF Food F2500 (10), El Galindo, Inc.; Eckert, "The good that can come when you're 'Not too good to do anything'"; Antonio Gilb, "After surviving war, man turned family business into tortilla giant," (Oral History interview of Tomas Galindo from September 2001), U.S. Latinos and Latinas & WWII Oral History Project, University of Texas at Austin, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/exhibits/ww2latinos/narratives/05Galindo_Tom.html (accessed August 25, 2007); Pam Stephenson, "'Tortilla Lady' Learned Hard Work in Pflugerville," *Community Impact Newspaper* (Pflugerville, TX), September 9, 2006, http://www.impactnewspaper.com/www/docs/145 (accessed August 25, 2007).

[183] Steve Foster, vice president of sales and marketing for El Galindo, Austin, TX, quoted in Person, "Tortilla Cos. Press On," *Austin Business Journal*, October 6-12, 1995.

"slotting fees" to place their products in grocery stores. Big processors like Mission Foods pay these fees to supermarket chains to guarantee shelf space in the most profitable parts of the store. The retail market became "tough" then for small companies in the 1990s, said Dark, forcing many out of business. Other small food producers competed by selling directly to restaurants rather than individuals, signing contracts for bulk production.[184]

El Galindo's production techniques differed from the biggest tortilla manufacturers. The largest supermarket chain based in Texas, H-E-B, made tortillas in a 20,000 square-foot production facility in Corpus Christi. The tortilla process began there with Maseca-brand dry corn flour, which is added to water. The dough is then pressed by large machines into flat disks, or tortillas. El Galindo and other small manufacturers, such as Sanitary Tortilla Manufacturing Corporation in San Antonio, Texas, used a different process. They soaked, cooked, ground and pressed corn on their premises, but these manufacturers also used industrial production techniques, including tortilla presses, large stone grinders, and assembly-line packaging.[185]

The combination of dehydrated corn flour and large-scale production techniques has allowed H-E-B and Mission Foods to mass produce tortillas. Large grocery stores in turn purchased tortillas by volume, causing the market to change in the 1990s when

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[184] Allen Dark, February 9, 2004, interview with the author. Data from the Census Bureau confirms and illuminates Dark's suspicion. The number of tortilla producers increased from 1997 to 2002 (the only two years for which the bureau surveyed tortilla manufacturers), but the shipment value of the small firms (1 to 4 employees) paled in comparison to that of the large firms (250 to 999 employees). U.S. Census Bureau, *Tortilla Manufacturing: 2002* (Washington DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004), 4.

[185] Patricia Sharpe, "Round and Round," *Texas Monthly*, April 2001, www.texasmontly.com (accessed February 5, 2004).

Mission Foods and other Mexican companies began making and selling tortillas in the United States.[186] El Galindo had to turn to niche markets, and as a result, its new customers were "mostly Anglo-Saxons in the middle- or upper-income groups." Allen Dark believed that Mexican-Americans do not buy his higher-priced tortillas because they "don't have the money and will buy a lower-priced product" in bulk. El Galindo cannot compete with the grocery store shelves "loaded with 120-count pack tortillas," and as a result has "not been in that business" for a long time. El Galindo "missed the high-volume market." Dark's tortilla business manufactures tortillas more like old Mexican *tortillerias*, but he ironically sells most of those tortillas to non-Mexicans.[187] Instead, Mexican Americans, according to Dark, buy from large producers who use newer production techniques. Indeed, in 1997, the four largest tortilla manufacturers shipped 57.2 percent of the tortillas in the United States for the billion-dollar plus industry.[188] As with other aspects of the food industry, the largest operators were dominating the tortilla markets by the end of the 1990s. As an ethnic food became a mainstream food, it was homogenized so that the largest processors dominated.

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[186] During the 1990s, other companies got into the tortilla and Mexican food production business. See for example, "Common Stock Offering, Authentic Specialty Foods," August 27, 1997, filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, http://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1041382/0000950129-97-003547.txt (accessed August 25, 2007). The text of the offering explains, "Authentic Specialty Foods provides an extensive line of Mexican food products to Mexican-American consumers, as well as non-Hispanic consumers who enjoy authentic Mexican food. The Company believes that it is unique for focusing its efforts on Mexican-American consumers," 3. The company sold Calidad tortillas and La Victoria salsas among other products, competing against the large Mexican companies, GRUMA and Bimar Foods.
[187] All quotes in this paragraph from Allen Dark, interview with the author, February 9, 2004.
[188] Percentage of four largest manufacturers from Harris et al., *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002*, 65. Total value of shipments was $1.11 billion, from U.S. Census Bureau, *Tortilla Manufacturing,* 1997 Economic Census, Manufacturing Industry Series, (Washington DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 1999), 7.

Many of the Mexicans who migrated to the United States during the 1980s and 1990s bought tortillas from the same manufacturers in Mexico and the United States. Indeed, the nature of Mexican migration is such that many Mexican Americans travel regularly between the two nations, living double lives.[189] Magazine and newspaper articles about the changing food landscape in the 1980s and 1990s typically refer to these migrants as those responsible for the new American diversity.[190] Those publications were half correct. Without mass Mexican migration, tortillas likely would not have become an everyday food for many Americans, eaten in the form of breakfast tacos, wraps of all sorts, or even as a substitute for daily bread. Mexican immigrants were partly responsible for introducing these foods to Americans, but they were also responsible for introducing a degree of homogeneity in the consumption of Mexican food in the United States. Because the consumption of tortillas increased dramatically, fueled by ethnic Mexicans and the rest of American consumers, large companies had an incentive to mass produce them. These companies could dominate the market, thereby reducing the influence of small tortilla manufacturers. Shoppers at the H.E.B., Wal-Mart, or Safeway in *either* the United States or Mexico bought the same types of tortillas, no matter their ethnic background. The continuity of purchasing habits extended from Mexico to the United States partly because some supermarket operators observed that Mexican consumers were very "brand

[189] Leonard Dinnerstein and David Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration,* 4th ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 135; Robert C. Smith, "Diasporic Memberships in Transnational Perspective: Comparative Insights from the Mexican, Italian, and Polish Cases," *International Migration Review* 37.3 (2003), 724-59.

[190] See Linsen, "Three Hot Specialty Departments,"127-29; Ryan Mathews, "Marketing to a New World of Taste" *Progressive Grocer,* July 1995, 73-74; Isabel Valdes, "Mass isn't a mass anymore," *Progressive Grocer*, December 1999, 81.

loyal, using many of the same items in the U.S. that they did in Mexico."[191] One marketing expert argued that "Hispanics want to feel 'culturally welcomed' in your store," adding that "retailers who want to reach foreign-born Hispanics should emphasize branded items from the homeland and de-emphasize US brands." The marketer also said that stores should "emphasize bulk foods [and] recognized traditional religious holidays, and offer bilingual point-of-sale materials."[192]

Not all marketers or supermarket operators agreed on this strategy for attracting Mexican-American consumers, for they were simultaneously a heterogeneous and homogenous group. Although they ate similar tortillas, composed of the same industrially processed flour, their eating habits were not necessarily static. In the late 1990s, one executive of the Mexican American Grocer's Association argued that supermarkets should integrate Mexican foods with other products. "This means putting salsas in with the ketchup. You can still have bread in the bakery aisle, but make sure you have enough tortillas. Hispanic consumers buy all products, not just Mexican items."[193] While the executive thought it necessary for food retailers to include tortillas, he counseled that they should not make assumptions about the other habits of Mexican American consumers.

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[191] Quote from Uka Solanki, owner of Big Saver Foods, a seven-store independent supermarket chain in Los Angeles, in Len Lewis, "Culture Shock: Are Mainstream Supermarkets Catering to the Ethnic Monolith or are They Ignoring These Emerging Majorities," *Progressive Grocer*, April 1998, 22.
[192] Quote from Jose Pina, Hispanic Division of Acosta Sales and Marketing in Yitzie Pretter, "Culture and Ethnicity in Consumer Decision Making" *TABS Journal*, Spring 2002, 171.
[193] Quote from Joe Hernandez, vice president, sales and marketing, Mexican American Grocers Association, Los Angeles, in Len Lewis, "Culture Shock: Are Mainstream Supermarkets Catering to the Ethnic Monolith or are They Ignoring These Emerging Majorities," *Progressive Grocer*, April 1998, 22. One study of the consumption habits of Mexicans in both Mexico City and San Jose, California found high brand identification and loyalty for these consumers. Lea Baker, Richard A Wald, and Rita Zamora, *Economic Aspects of Mexican and Mexican-American Urban Households* (San Jose: The Institute for Business and Economic Research, San Jose State College, 1971), 32-37.

Because supermarket chains and their suppliers use ethnic markers to determine their store offerings, it can be quite important for them to figure out what Mexican-Americans actually eat. In order to avoid making a one-size-fits-all mistake, one grocery distributor broke his ethnic category of foods into multiple components, including "Italian, Mexican-American, authentic Mexican, kosher, authentic Asian, Oriental and African-American." He explained, however, that it was not necessarily Jews who sought out kosher foods, for growth in that category also included people who had simply placed restrictions on their diets.[194] To confirm his suspicion, the president of the Hebrew National brand's parent company said that he sold only about a quarter of his products to Jewish customers, and that the remainder, "regardless of religion or ethnic background, bought Kosher foods for their 'purer quality.'"[195] So while the Kosher section might appeal to Jewish purchasers or the authentic Mexican food section to recent Mexican immigrants, a storeowner might also find wealthy black customers buying in large volume from either. To whit, the San Antonio H.E.B. superstore that served a majority Mexican-American customer base also had Chinese takeout and sushi counters to complement its in-store tortilla press. Though tortillas were "like bread" in that store, shoppers also bought plenty of moo goo gai pan, hot and sour soup, and California rolls.[196]

Sameness and Diversity in American Life

[194] "Micro-marketing helps grocers tap ethnic customers," *Progressive Grocer*, November 1998, 85.
[195] Steven Bachenheimer was president of National Foods, supplier of Hebrew National and Falls brands products, "A World of Sales," *Progressive Grocer*, August 1990, 103-4.
[196] Wold, "H-E-B's New Look: From Salsa to Sushi," 86-88. Quote from Paul Madure, vice president, store development, H-E-B.

Why is this paradox of diversity and sameness important? Americans in the last few decades of the twentieth century wanted thousands of choices at their collective disposal but still yearned for a certain consistency of experience. Robert Putnam recently authored a wide-ranging study about how Americans deal with the incredible racial and ethnic diversity of the present period. He concluded that it produces "social isolation" and retreat, observing,

> Diversity does *not* produce 'bad race relations' or ethnically-defined group hostility, our findings suggest. Rather, inhabitants of diverse communities tend to withdraw from collective life, to distrust their neighbours, regardless of the colour of their skin, to withdraw even from close friends, to expect the worst from their community and its leaders, to volunteer less, give less to charity and work on community projects less often, to register to vote less, to agitate for social reform *more*, but have less faith they can actually make a difference, and to huddle unhappily in front of the television. Note that this pattern encompasses attitudes and behavior, bridging and bonding social capital, public and private connections. Diversity, at least in the short run, seems to bring out the turtle in all of us.[197]

Although Americans may certainly shrink into their shells, they still have to eat, no matter if they take many meals in front of the television. In the case of food, they seem to poke their heads out of the shell as much as they retreat to the familiar. If it were possible, they might even eat a hybrid Chinese-Mex wrap while huddled in their shells. The everyday experience of food at the American supermarket shows that the process of cultural and social change is ever fitful. Americans want more choice, but they are not always sure how to categorize that choice. Supermarket managers were continually perplexed as they attempted to deal with the incredible variance of Asian and Latin

[197] Putnam, "*E Pluribus Unum*," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30, 149-51. Emphasis in the original.

American foods that could be added to their store mix. They could have ignored those foods, but that would have been bad business practice. After all, ethnic foods were a possible area of growth, because Americans of all ethnicities were asking for them. So those managers asked, among many of their questions concerning ethnic foods, whether their particular stores should have separate sections for Mexican foods. Their answer to that question depended on a number of factors. What was the Mexican-American population in the store's selling area? Was the overall customer base already familiar with those foods? Or did they need some education about them? And what types of foods were available? Should the store manager offer just the Mexican foods offered by the big corporations – the frozen burritos, canned jalapenos, and mass-produced tortillas? Or should he seek to distinguish his store by stocking nopales, tomatillos, and Mexican cheeses? Vast choice meant a vast array of permutations and combinations for the foods in the store. Sometimes, the choices were refreshing and exciting, as embodied in the case of ethnic foods. The fact that Americans embraced ethnic foods was not just a superficial act, for eating was an everyday, culturally infused process.[198] Still at other times, as shown in Putnam's findings, diversity was frustrating and atomizing.

When diversity created frustration or atomization, shoppers and store managers could be comforted by homogenized versions of ethnic foods served in homogenized surroundings. Choice need not be so scary if a supermarket was well lit, laid-out nicely,

[198] The literature on food as an expression of culture, identity, and meaning is extensive, especially within the field of anthropology. Some of the more important recent works are, Rozin, "Food is Fundamental, Fun, Frightening, and Far-Reaching"; E.N. Anderson, *Everyone Eats: Understanding Food and Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2005); Counihan and Van Esterik, eds., *Food and Culture*; Counihan, ed., *Food in the USA*.

conveniently located, had one-stop shopping, the employees were friendly, and the prices were low and easy to figure out. In a 2004 survey, all these qualities were among the top twenty desirable attributes for a grocery store.[199] Driving in one's car to the suburban supermarket that looked just like the one a thousand miles away seemed a good thing for many consumers, and the supermarket chains responded by building superstores of a similar format around the country. The consumer could have the markers of familiarity in the brand names of the big food chains like McDonald's, Starbucks, Kraft, and Pepsi-Cola. At the same time, she could be a little adventurous with her choices of ethnic foods. After all, the world *was* getting smaller, for it was easy to consume not just food from afar, but music, clothing, and other goods. And in their home suburbs or cities, most Americans encountered other Americans who had grown up in wide range of places. Even if those Americans in the most diverse communities were huddled in their homes, they were certainly experiencing that diversity in their consumptive activities – as they ate, shopped, and experienced music and movies from around the world.

Not all Americans retreated in frustration when confronted with diversity. Cookbook authors, restaurant owners, newspaper writers, and tour guides all translated foreign food cultures for Americans. It is this translation process that is described in the next chapter, for it demonstrates how culture changes over time. The translation process shifted as Americans slowly became familiar with new foods, using their new experiences to translate even more exotic eating choices. In cookbooks and menus,

[199] Heller and McTaggart, "The Search for Growth," *Progressive Grocer*, April 15, 2004, 31-41. The "Availability of ethnic foods" was at the bottom of the list, even though stores made great effort to feature these over the previous decades.

Americans negotiated globalization on an everyday basis, whether out for a night to eat, or as they experimented with an unfamiliar recipe from a new cookbook.

Chapter 3

Translating Diversity in a Globalizing Era:

Cookbooks, Menus, and the Diversification of American Cuisine

Globalization and mass immigration expanded cultural diversity in the United States after the 1960s. The diversity of the period has been well chronicled – historians and other scholars have written hundreds of studies about mass immigration to the United States in modern America. Very few have chronicled the manner in which people understood their consumption choices as they multiplied, however.[1] An American born in 1950 would have seen food choices and their associated cultural connotations dramatically expand from her childhood to her middle years. First, how would she understand all these choices, and how would food purveyors, wanting to profit, try to explain those options? Second, would the great number of choices mean paralysis, making that person able to eat only that which she was raised on?

This chapter examines how Americans translated diversity on an everyday basis in an era of rapid globalization. As they were faced with many more consumption choices, Americans had to find a way to understand them. They increasingly ate foods from faraway places, including those from Latin America and Asia that had not been an

[1] Two notable studies that examine the nexus of globalization and consumption in the United States are Halter, *Shopping for Identity*, and Purkayastha, *Negotiating Ethnicity*. Among the many studies of recent immigration are Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait,* 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Reed Ueda, *Postwar Immigrant America: A Social History* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1994); Lawrence Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press and University of New Hampshire, 1990); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil Rights America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); David Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995).

everyday feature on American tables in decades prior. One study of food and culture noted that the "complex symbolic, economic, sociological, ecological, or even physiological reasons for how a culture uses food often escape an outsider's recognition."[2] If this is true, then many food habits, such as the consumption of dim sum in Hong Kong, the use of the hands as eating utensils in India, or the place of the tortilla in Mexican and Central American cuisine had to be explained to Americans so that they were no longer illogical.

Through food, this chapter reveals how many Americans contended with globalization in everyday circumstances as they read cookbooks, perused restaurant menus, and glanced at newspapers or magazines to decide where to get dinner on any given night. In the case of cookbooks, many Americans sought to bring more of foreign cultures to their own homes. They had done this in another time of globalization, the early 1900s, when they bought exotic trinkets from afar to furnish their parlors and kitchens.[3] In recent years, however, global trade had increased, and the immigrants who came to the United States were coming from different places. That meant that Americans could actually cook more of the foods that were described in cookbooks, for ingredients and utensils might actually be available. It also meant that many of the exotic cultures of the Far East and Americas were to be brought home by cookbook authors. It was a difficult task for those authors, as they struggled to balance their message so that it would have kernels of familiarity and an equal dash of the unfamiliar. After all, the readers of

[2] Pamela Goyan Kittler and Kathryn P. Sucher, *Food and Culture,* 3rd ed., (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001), 11.
[3] Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*.

cookbooks that described foreign cuisines had to be able to understand the recipes, so the authors regularly referenced common signposts. But if everything in the cookbook was familiar, the reader would not get anything new, so the authors also had to be skilled at describing the unfamiliar.

The descriptive process in the cookbooks and restaurant menus was one that changed over time too, as the exotic became familiar. Indian food at first was comprehensible in the United States primarily through references to British colonial rule in India. Later, it became understandable to Americans through the other Asian and Latin American cuisines that had taken hold, such as Mexican and Chinese foods, for Americans made connections between cuisines that were both exotic and spicy. Similarly, Latin American cooking was at first understood through Mexican food, for tortillas and beans were the signposts for anything south of the border.[4] But over time, Latin American food in the United States became more than just Mexican cuisine, as American consumers came to know the ceviche, grilled meats, and wines from Latin America.[5]

Through the description and consumption of various ethnic foods, we can see the manner in which Americans understood globalization over the past few decades. As with other areas of consumption, there was an underlying tension between sameness and

[4] See Jane Benet, "From North America to the Antarctic," *San Francisco Chronicle* (undated, circa 1972 or 1973) in JJMC, Box 854.2. This was a review of Elisabeth Lambert Ortiz's cookbook, *The Book of Latin American Cooking* that is detailed below. The author starts her article with, "Latin American cooking is not all tortillas and beans, by any means," adding that the food of the region is as "varied as the climate."
[5] See for example Himilce Novas and Rosemary Silva, *Latin American Cooking Across the U.S.A.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997); Norman Van Aken, *Norman's New World Cuisine* (New York: Random House, 1997); Nathan, *The New American Cooking*.

diversity. Americans needed to understand their new choices so they made connections to the familiar, creating a certain sameness of experience. But they also sought out ever-more distinction in their consumptive experiences, for globalization made the world available in close quarters. They also struck a balance between local and regional distinctions and national or continental commonalities as globalization marched on. Trying to understand where American food ended and Indian or British food began was no small task. The definitions of the local, regional, national and global were rather fluid during this period, making the strategies for translation across cultures fluid too.

Part I – Cookbooks Translate Diversity

Cookbooks are one of the main sources used here to examine how foreign cultures and cuisines became known to American consumers. One key issue at hand in this chapter is the use of cookbooks and another source, restaurants menus, to tell the story of cultural change in American history. In the case of the cookbook, there is great precedent for its use as an historical artifact. One anthropologist has argued that "we need to view cookbooks in the contemporary world as revealing artifacts of culture in the making."[6] Another scholar has said that the recipes within cookbooks are a "link to the past" and that the recipes and cookbooks themselves are often invested with much emotional and social meaning.[7] Others have argued that cooking and the texts that

[6] Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30:1 (1988): 22.
[7] Barbara Haber, *From Hardtack to Home Fries: An Uncommon History of American Cooks and Meals* (New York: The Free Press, 2002), 208-21, quote on p. 210.

describe it "can scarcely be less important to our sense of identity and shared values than food itself."[8]

Because food and cooking are an everyday activity, research about these subjects makes them useful for historical evidence. The everyday motions of life are what are most taken for granted, but they often change. While it is impossible to not eat, even the amount we consume can take rather dramatic turns in a short time period. Americans, for example, increased their daily food consumption by about 530 calories from 1970 to 2000, or an astounding 24 percent.[9] The method for measuring this consumption is rather new too. The calorie was neither a widely known nor accepted scientific measure in the United States until about the first decade of the twentieth century, and cookbooks published in the middle 1800s made little mention of calories or other dietary measurements.[10] Indeed, the very writing of cookbooks was to take on a much more scientific bent in the early 1900s, for the measurement of everything became important.[11] As a reflection of their times, cookbooks can then provide some insight about what people thought about food, hoped to cook, and often, what they actually cooked.

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[8] Quote from Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster, "The Recipe in its Cultural Contexts," in Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster, eds., *The Recipe Reader* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 1. Two other examples of the importance of cookbooks link their writing to national identity. See Igor Cusack, "African Cuisines: Recipes for Nation Building?," *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13.2 (2000): 207-25; Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan los Tamales!*.

[9] This estimate is truly rough. The USDA calculates this number by dividing the total food supply in calories by the number of people in the United States, minus an estimate of the amount of food wasted by each person. The USDA added that wastage estimate in 1970, so the 1970 to 2000 comparison is a bit more accurate than comparisons from before 1970. The USDA estimates that the 1970 to 2000 increase was due mostly to a rise in added fats, sugars, and grains to the American diet. Sugary soda was one of the chief culprits. See *Agriculture Fact Book, 2001-2002* (Washington DC: USDA, 2003), 14-15.

[10] Nick Cullather, "The Foreign Policy of the Calorie," *American Historical Review* 112.2 (2007), 337-363.

[11] See Cullather, "The Foreign Policy of the Calorie," 337-63; Laura Shapiro, *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Farrar Strauss & Giroux, 1986), 3-10, 163-68.

This issue of the actual cooking that goes on in kitchens is what makes cookbooks somewhat problematic for some historians. It is hard to know how much people actually cook from any given cookbook. One researcher who was studying food in the United States during the 1950s preferred to use food magazines and newspaper articles rather than cookbooks, for many of the recipes in those publications were sent in by readers, indicating that they were invested in both the foods and their associated cultural connotations.[12] Another researcher explained that recipes sometimes do not tell the whole story of consumption, for cookbooks cannot escape the peanut butter and jelly problem. Few cookbooks list a recipe for the peanut butter and jelly sandwich, but American children (and adults) eat millions every year.[13] And no matter a recipe, people often make substitutions, omissions, or errors when they are actually at the stove or cutting board. Furthermore, some cookbooks that seem interesting on the bookstore shelf may sit unused on the kitchen shelf after a closer look.

For that reason, the cookbooks I have chosen to examine here meet a standard of influence and sales. All of the cookbooks analyzed here have been written about widely in newspapers, magazines, and other food circles. These cookbooks have also exerted a chain of influence on American food culture. The authors have greatly influenced other chefs, are seen as standard-bearers for their cuisine's introduction to an American audience, and are widely regarded as authorities on the cuisine they promote. To boot,

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[12] Laura Shapiro, *Something from the Oven: Reinventing Dinner in 1950s America* (New York: Penguin, 2004), xviii- xxiii. Shapiro did analyze some of the major cookbooks from the era but was careful to point out their limitations.

[13] Sandra Oliver, "Ruminations on the State of American Food History," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 6.4 (2006): 91-98. Oliver did find a peanut butter and jelly recipe in the 1965 *Fannie Farmer Cookbook* under "Simple Sandwich Fillings."

some of the authors, though not all, have also sold thousands of copies of their cookbooks, and many have seen those sales continue over the years.[14] The limitation of this approach is that some of the cookbooks examined here were not bestsellers, instead bought by only a few thousand readers. But even if that was the case, the cookbooks still illustrate the larger attempt that many Americans made to explain and understand foreign cultures through food.[15]

In this chapter I look at the degree and type of explanation necessary in those cookbooks. I examine the text of the cookbooks themselves, but what sets this study apart from others is that I have also examined the cookbook editorial and publishing process.[16] Using the cookbooks published by Alfred A. Knopf from the late 1960s through the early 1980s, I show how those cookbooks evolved from first to final draft during the editing process. This editorial process demonstrates what needed to be translated for an American audience during that time period. It also explains how cultural exchange and cross-cultural translation worked in an era of rapid globalization, for in their cookbooks

[14] The authors of the cookbooks analyzed below meet all these requirements. They include Julia Child, Claudia Roden, Jane Grigson, Madhur Jaffrey, and Elisabeth Ortiz. On the influence of Alfred A. Knopf's cookbooks, see "2006 James Beard Foundation Award Nominees Announced," at http://www.jamesbeard.org/about/press/pr/jbfawd06NOMINATIONS%20for%20jbf.org%203.16.06%2010AM.pdf (accessed December 12, 2007); Lisa Jones, "Alfred A. Knopf" in Alice Arndt, ed., *Culinary Biographies* (Houston: Yes Press, 2006), 223-24.

[15] Cookbooks are not perfect sources, but when read with an eye to the author's intent, perspective, and historical setting, they are valuable tools for food historians. One methodological treatise on food research called cookbooks "both essential and potentially profoundly misleading" when not read in historical and anthropological context. See Jeremy MacClancy, "Food, Identity, Identification," in Helen Macbeth and Jeremy MacClancy, eds., *Research Food Habits: Methods and Problems* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 63-73, quote on 65.

[16] Many studies about food and food history make use of cookbooks. Some even use the files of certain authors, such as Julia Child, which are deposited at the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, MA. But few detail the publishing process and the interchange between editor and author. One issue of *Gastronomica* was devoted to Julia Child and some articles made use of those files, including Joan Reardon, "Mastering the Art of French Cooking," *Gastronomica* 5.3 (2005): 62-72.

about various ethnic cuisines, the authors were forced to analyze the elements of the cuisine that were either easily comprehended by Americans, or alternatively, were in need of translation. It answers, in sum, how many Americans dealt with the rapid expansion of cultural choices over the last few decades of the twentieth century in one everyday activity – eating. If diversity meant many more eating choices, Americans had to figure out a way to understand their choices, and this chapter shows how they did that at home with cookbooks, and outside of the home with restaurant menus. Whether they were trying to understand foods that were close to home, such as English or Cajun cuisine, or foods that were quite far, such as Indian or Peruvian, they sought markers of common understanding to make sense of the cuisines. Those markers changed over time as globalization and immigration marched on so that what was uncommon language in one decade may be common in the next. By seeing how Americans forged a common language to understand foreign cultures, we can see how globalization affected them in their homes, with cookbooks in hand.

Cookbooks in Recent America

A cookbook can translate a cuisine and its culture in a setting where the reader need not be wary of the exotic or the unfamiliar – at home. Since the 1960s, cookbooks have occupied a curious status – as Americans consumed more foods outside the home, they also bought more cookbooks. There are a few possible reasons for this seeming disconnect. I posit that one reason is that cookbooks became an easy way for Americans to translate ethnic cuisines, and in turn the ethnicities themselves. As Americans traveled

abroad more, interacted with more immigrants from Asia and Latin America, and became curious about the cuisines from those regions, they wanted to learn about those cultures. Raymond Sokolov, food editor for the *New York Times* and himself a cookbook author who would later publish with Knopf, wrote an article in 1972 praising four cookbooks that interpreted cuisines from abroad. He remarked,

> Good cookbooks are rare. The best are more than collections of recipes. They are good anthropology. They set down, in clear language, specific ways in which cultures define themselves, deal with the natural world around them, and survive. Until the last ten years, there were almost no good, authentic cookbooks in this sense. Few people bothered to attempt the very hard work of seriously translating the kitchen of one culture into the kitchen of another.[17]

As Sokolov noted, cultural translation was difficult, but the best cookbooks could be a cheap and easy way for Americans to increase their familiarity with a variety of cultures. However superficial it might seem, by reading a cookbook and then putting homemade sushi on the table, one might be putting a bit of Japan into a non-Japanese home.

On a very practical level too, cookbooks became attractive. As people ate more take-out and processed food, they possessed fewer cooking skills. These skills were typically passed from generation to generation, from women to children, but over time, women cooked less because they worked more outside of the home. This was one major reason for the increase in the consumption of restaurant and take-out food. One study

[17] Raymond A. Sokolov, "Cultures of the World Depicted in Ounces, Cups and Spoonfuls," *New York Times*, October 5, 1972. Knopf published two of the cookbooks praised by Sokolov. They were Claudia Roden's *A Book of Middle Eastern Food* and Simone Beck's *Simca's Cuisine*. With Knopf, Sokolov published *The Saucier's Apprentice: A Modern Guide to Classic French Sauces for the Home* (New York: Knopf, 1976). For that book, he wished to describe French sauces in "language accessible to the American amateur cook," Raymond Sokolov to Lynn Nesbit, International Famous Agency, February 5, 1973, JJMC, Box 856.4. Judith Jones said, "The more exotic [the cuisine], the more you need that guidance [to figure out] feasible techniques" from "foreign cooking." Judith Jones, interview with the author, May 18, 2006, New York, NY.

found that in 1950, 25 percent of married women living with their husbands worked outside the home. By the late 1980s that figure had risen to nearly 60 percent. Women with children were working too; about half of all women who had school-age children worked outside the home by the late 1980s as well.[18] Those numbers continued to rise over the next couple decades. Families in which husband and wife both worked became the norm, rising from 43.6 percent in 1967 to a steady 58 or 59 percent between 1988 and 2004. Women who worked as they supported children also became more common, increasing from 47.4 percent of women in the 1975 workforce to 70.5 percent in 2005.[19] Whereas children had typically learned cooking techniques "through osmosis" in home kitchens during previous generations, this was not possible with the takeout food generation. As a result, those children became adults and turned to cookbooks "for teaching, for explanation and for hand-holding."[20] By the 1990s, a *New York Times* article called the "cooking illiterate" the "new lost generation," finding that most of this generation *thought* they knew how to cook, but flunked basic tests of cooking skills.[21]

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[18] Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 204.

[19] Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Women in the Labor Force: A Databook," (Washington DC: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006) at http://www.bls.gov/cps/wlf-databook-2006.pdf (accessed December 5, 2007), 19-20, 63-64.

[20] On the rise of takeout food, see Hayden Stewart, Noel Blisard, Sanjib Bhuyan, and Rodolfo M. Nayga, Jr., *The Demand for Food Away from Home: Full Service or Fast Food? AER-829* (Washington, DC: ERS-USDA, 2004), 1-11. Quotes from Judith Jones, Senior Editor, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., in David Belma, "200 Years of Cooking by the Book," *Restaurants USA*, November 1996, 35.

[21] Trish Hall, "New 'Lost Generation': The Cooking Illiterate," *New York Times*, January 15, 1992. The National Pork Producers Council conducted one test of 735 adults. The test had 20 questions and nearly three-quarters of the takers failed, which meant they missed 30 percent or more of the questions. These questions included such items as how many teaspoons there are in a tablespoon (3). The changes in the kitchen and home cooking had been coming about since the 1960s. One article discussed the pleasures that many people were taking in cooking, partly because it had become less of a "chore," and because there was a general resistance to the processed foods that had been embraced in the 1950s and 1960s. Even as people spent more money at restaurants, they were also delighting in cooking "gourmet" food at home. The article

This need for hand holding was in greater evidence as the years passed, for both the number of individual cookbooks published each year and the total volumes sold have increased since the 1970s. Publishing data is rather hard to pin down, but one estimate shows that there were about 3,168 cookbooks published in the United States in the 1965 to 1975 period, or about 300 a year.[22] By the mid-1990s, the number had increased to just under 1,000 cookbooks each year.[23] It was not just the variety of cookbooks that changed – the total volume of cookbooks increased as well. In 1991, about 27.5 million cookbooks and wine books were purchased in the United States. By 1995, that number had increased to about 41.8 million. By that time, the Barnes and Noble booksellers chain carried about 4,000 cookbook titles nationally.[24] So overall, Americans bought more cookbooks over time, and were able to select from a wider range of those books at the average bookstore. Even as Americans ate out more, they also desired cookbooks more, perhaps because they needed guidance about their fading cooking skills. At the end of the

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also discussed the rise of ethnic cuisines, such as Chinese and Mexican in home kitchens. "The Kitchen: America's Playroom," *Forbes*, March 15, 1976.

[22] This figure is cited in both L. Patrick Coyle, Jr., *Cook's Books: An Affectionate Guide to the Literature of Food and Cooking* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985), 25, and Alice Payne Hackett and James Henry Burke, *80 Years of Best Sellers: 1895-1975* (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1977), 47. Cookbook publishing data usually includes just those put out by formal publishing houses. There are a wide range of cookbooks published by church groups, clubs, community organizations and the like for fundraising purposes. These cookbooks are not typically included in the counts by either *Publisher's Weekly* or the American Bookseller's Association.

[23] Eben Shapiro, "Publishing: Thousands of Cookbooks in Search of Some Cooks," *Wall Street Journal*, March 2, 1994.

[24] This data was cited as coming from the American Booksellers Association in David Belma, "200 Years of Cooking by the Book," *Restaurants USA*, November 1996, 34. The number was skewed by a jump in sales from the publication of *In the Kitchen with Rosie*, a cookbook by Oprah Winfrey's personal chef that sold over 8 million copies. See Suzanne Hamlin, "Too Many Cooks, Yes, But Never Too Many Cookbooks," *New York Times*, January 22, 1997. The jump in sales seemed to occur most dramatically in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Another figure cited from *Publishers Weekly* said that 400 cookbooks and food-related books were sold in 1987, and that by August 1988, 436 had already been published, Trish Hall, "A New Spectator Sport: Looking not Cooking," *New York Times*, January 4, 1989; The Barnes and Noble sales figure is from Martin Arnold, "Making Books: A Culinary Fantasy Life," *New York Times*, October 29, 1998.

twentieth century, many households had beautiful kitchens overflowing with expensive state-of-the-art appliances that were scarcely used for anything more than warming up takeout food. Those kitchens were just for show.[25] Still, millions cooked at home regularly, and with determination. The overall surge in interest about all things food was then a complicated process. People ate out more, tried a wider variety of foods, bought more cookbooks, and cooked for themselves less often, all at the same time.

As many Americans cooked for themselves less frequently, they read cookbooks not just for recipes, but also as literature or entertainment. By looking at what cookbooks were saying, and what the editors and authors of them thought about what they were conveying, we can gain insight about how Americans understood diversity in the late twentieth century.

Alfred A. Knopf's Cookbooks Translate the World

Alfred A. Knopf is among the most important publishers in twentieth century America, and Judith Jones has been one of its most important editors. The authors for whom she has marshaled manuscripts since 1957 have written both best sellers and books of literary consequence. They include John Hersey, Anne Tyler, Langston Hughes, and

[25] See Jeannine Stein, "Luxury Lifestyles Show, Where Price is Right… Out of Sight," *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1987; Elizabeth Large, (Baltimore Sun) "Upscale Kitchens Get New Status," *Albany Times-Union*, October 5, 1997; Daniela Deane, "Luxury Appliances Get More High-Tech, Costly," *Seattle Times*, February 15, 2004. One need only look at the catalogs from food and kitchen purveyors to see this trend. As takeout food consumption increased, so did the prices and number of home kitchen gadgets in these catalogs. One Christmas catalog listed several coffee makers for over $1,000, with one priced at $3,249. See catalog, *Sur la Table* (Seattle, WA: Sur la Table, 2007), 64-65.

perhaps her most important, John Updike.[26] In addition to her significant work in editing fiction authors, she and Knopf also made a distinct mark on cookbook publishing, beginning with the publication of *Mastering the Art of French Cooking, Volume I*, by Julia Child, Louisette Bertholle, and Simone Beck in 1961. Until this book hit the shelves, cookbooks did not stand out on book publishers' ledger sheets. The top cookbooks were mostly published as adjuncts to magazines, with *Better Homes and Gardens* and *Good Housekeeping* putting out top sellers.[27] As one writer noted, "Knopf not only set the standard for American cookbooks" with *Mastering* and other volumes, "but established its culinary authors as catalysts in what would become a renaissance of cooking in the United States" after the 1960s.[28]

Judith Jones saw the task of many cookbooks as one of translation, and she guided her authors to interpret other cultures for their readers beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, which she called a "yeasty time in cookbook editing."[29] When the authors were not translating enough or not translating well, she told them. Her frustration with existing French cookbook authors' inability to translate the nuances of the cuisine had led her to

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[26] "Judith Jones to Receive James Beard Foundation Lifetime Achievement Award," Press Release, The Knopf Publishing Group, at http://www.randomhouse.biz/media/pdfs/Judith_Jones.pdf (accessed September 24, 2007).

[27] Cookbooks published under the *Better Homes and Gardens*, Betty Crocker, and *Good Housekeeping* imprints dominated the list of books that sold over 750,000 copies in the period between 1895 and 1975. See Hackett and Burke, *80 Years of Best Sellers*, 10-20. *Mastering* did not appear on that list, though it was said to have sold over a million copies by its 40th anniversary in 2001. For that figure, see Judith Weinraub, "40 Years by the Book," *Washington Post*, October 3, 2001. Between 1969 and 1974, *Mastering* sold 200,000 copies, or about 33,333 per year. Letter, Robert H. Johnson, Hill & Barlow, Boston, MA, (Attorney for Julia Child) to Judith Jones, April 11, 1975 in JJMC, Box 851.17. Julia Child and Simone Beck's *Mastering the Art of French Cooking, Volume II* (New York: Knopf, 1970) which extended the information in volume I, and Julia Child's *The French Chef Cookbook* (New York: Knopf, 1968), which was based on her television programs, also sold many thousands of copies.

[28] Lisa Jones, "Alfred A. Knopf" in Arndt, ed., *Culinary Biographies*, 223-24.

[29] Judith Jones, interview with the author, May 18, 2006.

feel confident about Julia Child's first effort, which set the standard for American cookbooks after the 1960s. Other cookbooks, she noted, had made no effort in "*translating* the mysteries of French cooking into terms that Americans could understand."[30] By Jones estimate and that of millions of others, Julia Child did just that, and with flair too.

Jones had firsthand experience as a translator and had spent significant time in France, where her love of food blossomed. She used this experience to land her first job at Knopf editing translations of French authors, including Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre, for American publication. When she took on Julia Child's first book, she was thrilled with its capacity to render difficult techniques in clear, easy-to-understand language. It was Child's authoritative but comfortable voice that made her a good translator, both of the mysteries of cooking and the mysteries of French cuisine and culture.[31] So it was Child who brought French cooking to the American masses, and this was precisely her goal. She remarked once that her intent was to "take French cooking out of cuckoo land and bring it down to where everybody is."[32] "Cuckoo land" was the province of the grand French restaurants that had been replicated in equally expensive form in major American cities.[33] In *Mastering* she explained that she hoped to take

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[30] Quote from Judith Jones, Vice President and Senior Editor, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., "The Borzoi Reader Looks Back with Editor Judith Jones," created August 1998, http://www.randomhouse.com/knopf/about/juliachild.html (accessed September 24, 2007). Emphasis in the original.

[31] Judith Jones, *The Tenth Muse: My Life in Food* (New York: Knopf, 2007), 17-64

[32] "Everyone's in the Kitchen," *Time*, November 25, 1966.

[33] Some claimed to be purely French, and some used American cooking elements. One restaurant that opened to high praise and hoopla was the Four Seasons in the Seagram's building in New York City. See Leslie Brenner, *American Appetite: The Coming of Age of a Cuisine* (New York: Bard, 1999), 39, 51-52. See also Tom Wolfe, *From Bauhaus to Our House* (New York: Bantam Books, 1999), 58.

French cooking from "never-never land" and bring it "Here, where happily it is available to everybody."[34]

France very well might have been never-never land to many, and Child provided the transition for American cooks so that they could make French food using the ingredients from the American supermarket. As Jones put it, a good cookbook was to be more than a "collection of recipes." Child's role was to "*translate* classic cuisine for the American home cook, explaining to them all the things she had needed to know – what to expect, what the rules were, viable substitutes for ingredients not then available in the States, and, to make life just a little easier, what steps could be done ahead."[35]

This translation skill became more important for cookbook authors as global trade and immigration intensified. Americans increasingly came into contact with new dishes, cooking styles, ingredients, menu variations, and cooking equipment as cuisines from afar were served in restaurants and described in new cookbooks. The distinctions between American and English cuisine were rarely mentioned in this light. America was, after all, originally an English offspring, and it was often assumed that American culture owed its greatest debt to those on the island across the Atlantic.[36] Even if this were the case, the United States and England were far removed enough that they were distinctive in many respects, including food.

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[34] Julia Child, Louisette Bertholle, and Simone Beck, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking, Volume I*, (New York, Knopf, 1973), vii.
[35] Jones, *The Tenth Muse*, 63.
[36] On the British-influence on the diet and meal structure in America, see Harvey Levenstein, "Immigration, Travel, and Internationalization of the American Diet" in *Food Selection: From Genes to Culture*, (Paris: The Danones Institute, 2000), http://www.danoneinstitute.org/publications/book/pdf/food_selection_10_levenstein.pdf (accessed April 16, 2007), 158-59.

Translating British Food

The differences between the foods and eating habits in the United States and England were wide enough in the 1960s and 1970s that when Jane Grigson wanted to publish her English cookbook, *Good Things*, in the United States with Knopf, her editor remarked over and over again that elements of the book needed to be "translated" for American readers. Grigson was a successful English author from the 1960s until her death in 1990. She wrote a column for the *Observer Magazine* from 1968 to 1990 and was a cooking authority in her home country. She had published her breakthrough cookbook, *Charcuterie and French Pork Cookery* in England in 1967, which Knopf took on for an American version.[37] *Good Things* had been published in England in 1971, and editor Judith Jones turned to her husband, Evan Jones, himself a cookbook author, to write extensive footnotes to Grigson's text so that Americans would understand it. These footnotes gave advice on where to find English ingredients, translated English preparation methods, and offered American equivalents for English eating styles. Many of the items requiring explanation were from the seas around England. In the introduction, Grigson mentions laver and sewen, English terms for seaweed and sea trout used on the isle, and the first chapter is titled, "Kippers & Other Fish," describing British techniques for smoking, salting, and cooking varieties of herring. In the Knopf version,

[37] Wayland Kennet, "Grigson, (Heather Mabel) Jane (1928–1990)," in H.C.G Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/article/39832 (accessed May 7, 2007). The American version was *The Art of Charcuterie* (New York: Knopf, 1968). Knopf published it in paperback in 1976.

that chapter required frequent footnotes. Often, those notes explain how American consumers can procure the English foods that may have been easier to find in London than in Cleveland.[38]

Judith Jones had decided to use these footnotes rather than change the body text of the English version of *Good Things* so that she would not interfere with Grigson's "style" or "information." But she also had reservations about the ability of the book to hold up with an American audience. She told Grigson that her "book is, of course, very English-oriented for our American audience and it is for that reason we need more than simply translation of measurements to American terms, but in addition notes that would make the book more useful to someone here." Some counseled Jones and Grigson that they should eliminate some of the particularly English parts of the book, but Jones told Grigson that she liked the book's "Englishness" and rather than "disturb" that, she would add the footnotes.[39] She added some other observations about differences between the cuisines, including that leeks are poor man's food in Europe, but were "rich man's asparagus" in the United States. She further counseled that the text must explain English "terms like jugging, double cream, short pastry."[40] In the book itself, the note to a section on leeks said they were rare, and that "some Americans would not even recognize" one, adding that one solution was to simply grow them oneself.[41]

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[38] Many of these footnotes went beyond the issue of translation to include additional preparation techniques for foods or different versions of the dishes in question, Jane Grigson, *Good Things* (New York: Knopf, 1971) xi, 3-15.
[39] Judith Jones to Jane Grigson (undated, circa 1970) and Judith Jones to Mrs. Michael Joseph, Michael Joseph Ltd., (undated, circa 1970), JJMC, Box 850.7.
[40] Judith Jones to Jane Grigson, August 21, 1970, JJMC, Box 850.7.
[41] Grigson, *Good Things*, 186.

For a later book, *The Mushroom Feast*, the transatlantic confusion compounded itself. There, Grigson had taken some American recipes and adapted them to English means for her first English edition. Then she reconfigured them back to "American" for the Knopf version, but Judith Jones saw that this resulted in "confusion," especially with quantities of ingredients.[42] When discussing the problem of whether to use "broiling" or "grilling" to direct readers on preparation techniques, Jones told her copy editor that "I do wish we could get together with our British cousins on all this culinary terminology, and maybe this effort will be the first step."[43] In a later note, she told her that she felt confident that they had "come closer to standardizing our dual culinary vocabularies."[44] Lastly, Jones told Grigson that she should cut the "European slant" to the book so that she might attract mushroom "freaks" (of which she was surprised to find out there were many), nature lovers, and vegetarians.[45] Even if they were speaking the same language, vocabulary and meaning were not all the same, producing some frustration in the effort to bring English food to America. In this case, uniformity was the desired result, for it made cultural interchange easier. Perhaps because of these issues, Judith Jones inkling about sales for *Good Things* proved correct. She told one literary agent that "I suspect the resistance" to the book "has been primarily to its Englishness – kippers and such."[46] For a

[42] Judith Jones to Jill Norman, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex division November 16, 1973, JJMC, Box 851.1.
[43] Judith Jones to Millie, October 22, 1973, JJMC, Box 851.1.
[44] Judith Jones to Millie, December 2, 1973, JJMC, Box 851.1.
[45] Judith Jones to Jane Grigson, December 13, 1973, JJMC, Box 851.1. The mushroom "freaks" were courted by Jones and Grigson when Knopf published *The Mushroom Feast*. They wrote letters to chapters of the North American Mycological Association, alerting them about the book. See Judith Jones to Jane Grigson, October 6, 1975, and Letter, Harry S. Knighton, President, North American Mycological Association, to Judith Jones, October 28, 1975, in JJMC, Box 851.1.
[46] Judith Jones to Claire Smith, Harold Ober Associates, October 24, 1972, JJMC, Box 850.7.

follow-up book project, Jones advised Grigson that she visit the United States so she could better aim it toward an American audience.[47]

Though it was important to have consistent language for cookbook readers, distinction was also important, for a publisher did not want its books to be identical to other publishers'. When Grigson proposed a vegetable cookbook for publication, Judith Jones told her Knopf could not take it on, for she had two vegetarian books in the pipeline. She explained that Grigson's book would be perceived as too similar to those books, and that "while you and I know vegetarian books are a far cry from a book on vegetable cookery, our salesmen are not necessarily alert to such fine points."[48] She also argued that the book was too English in nature, adding that they "don't quite reflect a trend here, much influenced by the Chinese, toward simple stir-fried combinations, accenting the freshness."[49] While it was still difficult for bookstore owners to separate the vegetarian books that were proliferating, Jones knew that the better cookbooks would reflect the distinct changes in American cuisine, brought on by the resurgent popularity of Chinese and other Asian cuisines that used vegetables differently than the European cuisines.

If Americans were put off by the Englishness of Grigson's books, what of Frenchness, Indianess, or Mexicaness? How would cookbook buyers respond to the

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[47] Judith Jones to Jane Grigson, August 23, 1974. Jones and Knopf did publish Grigson's book, *The Mushroom Feast*, in 1975, so Jones' advice to Grigson about *English Food* (published in Britain in 1974), the book she rejected, was not necessarily about the author's writing or cooking capacities.
[48] Judith Jones to Jane Grigson, November 9, 1977, JJMC, Box 851.1. The books were Anna Thomas' *Vegetarian Epicure, Book Two* (New York: Knopf, 1978) (a first book was published in 1972), and Madhur Jaffrey's *Madhur Jaffrey's World of the East Vegetarian Cooking* (New York: Knopf, 1981).
[49] Judith Jones to Jane Grigson, November 9, 1977, JJMC, Box 851.1.

foreign elements of these cuisines? Judith Jones was attuned to the problem of translating foreign foods, and rather than keep the text intact, as in the case of Grigson's book, she also made major suggestions to authors such as Madhur Jaffrey and Elizabeth Ortiz for their works on Indian and Latin American cooking. It is in these cuisines that the effort to translate diversity can best be seen. In the case of Madhur Jaffrey, she, much like Julia Child with French food, was among the first important authors to make Indian food accessible to an American audience.

Madhur Jaffrey and Indian Cooking in America

The writing and editing of Madhur Jaffrey's first American cookbook, *An Invitation to Indian Cooking*, illustrates how one relatively unfamiliar and exotic cuisine was translated for an American audience. In this era of globalization, as Indian immigrants were coming in much greater numbers to the United States than they ever had prior, Indian food was only a glimmer in the consciousness of most American eaters.[50] Indian cookbooks created an imaginative experience for readers, who had to visualize a cuisine, a culture, or simply, a dish, as they prepared it.

In this imaginative sense, Jaffrey's *An Invitation to Indian Cooking* was, in 1973, an exercise in getting Americans to understand India and Indian food. It was likely the most important cookbook about Indian food published during the 1970s, and came at a

[50] See section below on Indian restaurants for details about the consumption of Indian food in the United States and the surge of Indian immigration to the United States after the 1960s.

time when Indian food was just fomenting renewed interest in the United States and Britain.[51]

Before examining the specific language of *An Invitation*, it is instructive to see how much the nature of translation changed in the case of Indian cooking over the three decades after its publication. As Americans became more familiar with non-European cuisines, such as Indian, the nature of cookbook translation changed. *An Invitation* began with a different title – *Curry: Myth and Reality* – because Jaffrey wanted to educate Americans about Indian cooking at a time when it was just beginning to garner interest. Judith Jones eventually changed the title to *An Invitation to Indian Cooking*.[52] Americans needed information to squelch misconceptions, but as her editor surmised, they also needed an invitation to try the cuisine first.

Much had changed by 2006, when Jaffrey penned *Climbing the Mango Trees*, a memoir of her childhood in Delhi, which also contained dozens of recipes. By then, mangoes were no longer exotic fruits to be found only in Asian or Latino specialty grocery stores; produce distributors imported several varieties to meet demand from both American born consumers and immigrant customers from Latin America and Asia.[53] Jaffrey illustrated this fact in a *New York Times* article in which she celebrated a U.S.-India pact. The United States had just signed a controversial agreement to sell nuclear

[51] The curry houses of England began to flourish in the 1960s and 1970s, partly because of a reappraisal of English food by the English, and partly because of large-scale immigration from South Asia to Britain. See Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 224-43.
[52] Elaine Markson to Judith Jones, November 10, 1971, JJMC, Box 851.11.
[53] Interview, Dennis Martin, O. Lippi Produce Company, San Francisco, CA, July 20, 2006; Madhur Jaffrey, *Climbing the Mango Trees* (New York: Knopf, 2006).

technologies to India. To sell the pact to the American public and non-resident Indians in the United States, President George W. Bush highlighted one small, but tasty component of the agreement; the United States would, for the first time, allow the importation of Indian mangoes, which had long been banned in the United States due to concerns about pests. Somewhat fortuitously for Jaffrey, Indian mangoes would land in America soon after her memoir hit the shelves. In May 2007 the first shipment arrived at John F. Kennedy airport in New York, where thousands of Indian immigrants had debarked in the previous three decades. Indeed, some of those immigrants had carried smuggled mangoes as reminders of their homeland. From Jaffrey's first American book to her most recent, the mango had gone from exotic to desirable – so much so that an American president used their importation to sell a nuclear trade pact.[54] A reviewer on the Amazon.com Web site explained to prospective buyers that she owned six of Jaffrey's books, that one need be only "moderately adventurous" to cook from her books, and finally, that she recommended "Indian CDs and Bollywood for the full experience. Bon Voyage."[55] Americans no longer needed an introduction to Indian cuisine – they were already well familiar with its variations.

When Jaffrey had published *An Invitation to Indian Cooking* in 1973, she was revolting against a sameness inherent in Indian restaurant cuisine in America that was

[54] Madhur Jaffrey, "The Fruits of Diplomacy," *New York Times*, March 12, 2006; Press Release, U.S. Embassy in India, "Indian Mangoes Head to the United States," April 26, 2007; David Karp, "A Luscious Taste and Aroma Arrives from India at Last," *New York Times*, May 2, 2007. Jhumpa Lahiri reminisced about how her family used to smuggle Indian foods back to the United States after every trip to Calcutta, but after decades no longer needed to, for most of the desired goods were available in the United States. "Indian Takeout," *Food and Wine*, April 2000.

[55] Marianne O. Schmidt, "Wonderful Evocative Journey through India's Past," comment on Madhur Jaffrey's *Climbing the Mango Trees*, posted January 3, 2007, http://www.amazon.com/Climbing-Mango-Trees-Memoir-Childhood/dp/140004295X (accessed May 16, 2007).

born out of its newness. She claimed that the food served in Indian restaurants was a "generalized Indian food from no specific area whatsoever," and that the result was the "sauces in such eating places inevitably have the same color, taste, and consistency."[56] She was trying to diversify and expand the understanding of Indian food in America beyond the sameness of the curry house by letting Americans know what "authentic Indian food was like."[57] Her editor at Knopf, Judith Jones, found the book capable of doing precisely what Jaffrey intended, telling a counterpart at Penguin press that it "opened up a whole world of cooking experiences to me."[58]

The curry house decried by Jaffrey was, of course, related to the curry powder that had been a mainstay in British and American larders for decades.[59] She explained that curry powder was an adulteration created by the British – an "oversimplified" version of Indian food. Furthermore, unlike the spice mixtures that were ground on the spot in India, she saw the curry powder, or blend of pre-ground spices, as having the "negative aspects of being standardized and somewhat rancid at the same time."[60] She also claimed, "no Indian ever uses curry powder in his cooking."[61] Though this was hard to believe, the film star/cookbook author was exaggerating for the cameras, so to speak.

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[56] Jaffrey, *An Invitation*, 3.
[57] Ibid, 4.
[58] Judith Jones to Jill Norman, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England, November 16, 1973, JJMC, Box 851.1.
[59] For the British example, see an early cookbook by Eliza Acton, which has a chapter on "curries" and "potted meats." Acton also gives recipes for curry powders. Eliza Acton, *Modern Cookery, in All Its Branches: Reduced to a System of Easy Practice, for the Use of Private Families* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1858), 221-26. Curry powder had long been a common item in American pantries. See Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium*, 110, 114.
[60] Jaffrey, *An Invitation*, 6-7.
[61] Ibid, 6.

More to the point, Jaffrey added that her recipes had convinced one friend's children who had been "extremely dubious about all foreign foods," to eat Indian.[62]

Jaffrey was the right person for translating Indian cuisine for both American and British audiences because she had lived in all three countries and possessed a vibrant personality on the page, stage, and movie and television screen. Having grown up in Delhi, she moved to London for college, eventually becoming a renowned actor there. It was when she lived in London that she first learned to cook. As a child she had mostly observed, rather than participated in the kitchen, but when she was in London, she became homesick and requested that her mother send recipes from home. She knew that this was part of the reason why she understood the problems of beginning chefs, for she had to use much experimentation, substitution, and improvisation when fashioning dishes from her mother's letters. She later married an American musician and moved to New York, where she continued to act in British, American, and Indian productions, but also established a name for herself as an author and cooking teacher.[63] Like so many of the Knopf authors, she was helped along by Craig Claiborne and James Beard, who together had the eyes, ears, and guts of the New York establishment fixed on their culinary exploits. There had been interest in Jaffrey's cooking skills as early as the mid 1960s, when she toured the United States doing dramatic readings. Craig Claiborne, the *New York Times* food editor, noted that she was as skilled in the kitchen as she was on stage.[64]

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[62] Ibid, 4.
[63] Jaffrey, *Climbing the Mango Trees*, 240-43.
[64] Craig Claiborne, "Indian Actress is a Star in the Kitchen Too," *New York Times*, July 7, 1966. See also Elaine Markson, Knox Burger Associates Ltd., to Judith Jones, November 10, 1971, JJMC, Box 851.11.

It did not hurt that she was pretty and practiced before the cameras. She used these qualities to model saris for Gimbel's department store during the 1960s, when that and other fancy stores were promoting them.[65] Judith Jones knew these qualities would help sell books, telling an assistant that Jaffrey was "very attractive, an actress… which we obviously want to capitalize on."[66]

Jaffrey still had to make Americans understand Indian food, and an important factor, even more than in Jane Grigson's books, were the ingredients like mangoes used in Indian cooking. Unfamiliar to many Americans, and unavailable in many grocery stores, ginger, tamarind, cilantro and other foods had to be explained, partly to lend insight about their uses in Indian cooking, and partly to erase misconceptions. In *An Invitation*, Jaffrey wrote a section on Indian ingredients, complemented by another section with grocery stores and mail-order houses listed. After her first draft of the cookbook, Jaffrey was asked to further explain many of the ingredients so that Americans could make connections to foods they knew. For amchoor, or raw mango, used to "make food tangy and sour," Jones added that it was "used as freely as lemon is in American cooking."[67] Similar advice was needed for cilantro, which could be found in "Chinese, Japanese, and Spanish" markets, and ginger, which was to be used fresh, not as the powder sold in many supermarkets.[68]

Jaffrey was also in a New York play, "The Guide." See Clive Barnes, "Theater: Reluctant Guru," *New York Times,* March 7, 1968.

[65] Marilyn Bender, "The Sari Becomes Western Fashion," *New York Times*, May 13, 1966. Gimbel's held a "Salute to India" promotion in which it sold Indian products at the store.

[66] Judith Jones to Millie, July 7, 1972, JJMC, Box 851.1.

[67] Copy Editing Comments, July 6, 1972, JJMC, Box 851.1; Jaffrey, *An Invitation*, 25.

[68] Copy Editing Comments, July 6, 1972, JJMC, Box 851.1.

Translation also shifted in terms of what connections readers were asked to make when learning a new cuisine. One of the more unique aspects of Indian cuisine is the succession of roasting and frying techniques that must be done in intervals to achieve the correct flavors and ensure that ingredients are not burned. Judith Jones addressed this issue in the first drafts of *An Invitation*. Because it was a "less familiar cookery, the recipes must be as complete unto themselves as possible," Jones told her copy editor, rather than forcing one to "chase" around cross-references on cooking techniques throughout the book.[69] Still, she worried that explaining technique in each recipe would make the book too long, upping production costs. In the end, Jones erred on the side of explanation, rather than cost, and kept the detail in each recipe. She also thought it important not to refer to the cooking techniques employed by Jaffrey as "stir-fry," for that was "apt to be associated with Chinese cooking and seems to represent an unfamiliar (therefore frightening) technique."[70] Though an earlier copy editor had inserted the term "stir-fry" to many of the recipes, Jones set to "restore" the text so that readers would not be put off by references to Chinese food.[71] As with the shift from her first American cookbook to her memoir 33 years later, these cross-references to Chinese or Mexican or other ethnic cuisines slowly became routes to understanding Indian and other cuisines, rather than barriers. Stir-fry would become part of the American cooking lexicon, just as spicy foods like Mexican would be easy entrees to other cuisines.[72] Mexican food was

[69] Judith Jones to Millie, July 7, 1972, JJMC, Box 851.1.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] See section on Indian restaurants below about how that cuisine was translated via Mexican or Chinese food by the 1990s.

grouped with all south of the border foods in Elisabeth Lambert Ortiz's cookbook published by Knopf not long after Jaffrey's, and it too had characteristic translation issues that marked the march of globalization in American life.

Elisabeth Ortiz Translates Latin America

Like Madhur Jaffrey, Elisabeth Ortiz had lived in several countries, experiencing the foods of many regions. Born in England in 1915, her family moved to Jamaica, and later, Australia, where she married her first husband. He was killed in military service during World War II. Afterwards, she moved to New York, where she married a Mexican diplomat, César Ortiz Tinoco, who was then stationed at the United Nations. His duties would take her to Mexico City and other locales around the world, where she sampled many cuisines. Though she had long worked as a journalist and fiction author, she eventually took up food writing, publishing *The Complete Book of Mexican Cooking* in 1967 with the aid of James Beard and Craig Claiborne. She wrote frequent columns for *Gourmet* and advised *Time-Life* books on the Mexican and Latin American sections of their world cooking series. With Knopf she published *The Book of Latin American Cooking* in 1979, which was also quite successful. As a result, she was termed the "undisputed English-language expert" on Latin American cooking and was rivaled only by Diana Kennedy as a non-native expert on Mexican food.[73]

[73] Quote from Paul Levy, "Ortiz, Elisabeth Lambert (1915–2003)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, Oxford University Press, Jan 2007, http://www.Oxford dnb.com/view/article/92492/ (accessed November 28, 2007). See also Paul Levy, "Obituary: Elisabeth Lambert Ortiz," *The Independent* (London), November 25, 2003; Tom Jaine, "Obituary: Elisabeth Lambert Ortiz," *The Guardian* (London), November 27, 2003.

The Book of Latin American Cooking had to explain a good deal about the continent's foods, even though Mexican food was becoming more popular around the United States in the 1970s and 1980s. Though the term "Latinos" was coming into use during that decade, American publishers had put out few cookbooks that surveyed and compared Latin American cooking.[74] The enormity of describing a whole continent's cuisine was a difficult task for Ortiz and her editor, Judith Jones. For this reason, Jones suggested during the editing process that Ortiz revise the cookbook so that it would repeat little known information for American readers throughout, much like the directions for frying and roasting in Jaffrey's book. For example, if Ortiz described coriander's uses in the introduction, she should also do so in a separate "ingredients" section and even include a line about it in some of the recipes.[75] Jones also cautioned Ortiz that she was "so deep into refinements" about some descriptions of foods that the overall nature of a particular dish might be lost on American readers.[76] Furthermore, Jones advised Ortiz about her many descriptions of the regional origins for certain foods. She wanted her to generalize more and was put off by Ortiz's hair-splitting about what people ate in various parts of the continent. In the final draft, this may have led to a broadening of the cuisine to a continental, rather than nation-specific one, for that was the goal of the book. It was also a way to get a handle on the incredible diversity and difference in the continent.

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[74] "Hispanic" came into usage in the 1970s and was used widely from that time forward. On the term "Latino" coming into usage during the 1980s and 1990s, see Tom W. Smith, "Changing Racial Labels: From 'Colored' to 'Negro' to 'Black' to 'African American,'" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 56:4 (1992): 510. See also Laura E. Gómez, "The Birth of the "Hispanic" Generation: Attitudes of Mexican-American Political Elites toward the Hispanic Label" *Latin American Perspectives* 19:4 (1992): 45-58. On the scarcity of pan-Latin America cookbooks, Judith Jones to Jane Grigson, May 15, 1979, JJMC, Box 851.1.
[75] Judith Jones to Elisabeth Ortiz, August 1, 1977, JJMC, Box 854.2.
[76] Memo, "Notes and Queries on Meats & Poultry Chapter," Judith Jones to Elisabeth Ortiz, August 8, 1977, 3, JJMC, Box 854.2.

Jones told Ortiz that she made "too many fine distinctions about origins and crossing of culture" and that they "get repetitive," in the descriptions for individual dishes. She proposed that discussion of regional variation be subsumed in the introduction.[77] Several months later, Jones asked Ortiz if there was a "way of taking a larger view and encompassing several of the cuisines together?"[78] Ortiz agreed that she would avoid "too many fine distinctions" about origins of foods in her revisions.[79] Diversity was interesting, but at some point, it was overwhelming, as evidenced by Jones' pleas for simplicity.

As with Jaffrey and other cookbook authors on foreign cuisines, Ortiz had to offer substitutions for local ingredients that might not be available in American cities, or more to the point, in the heartland. Like Jaffrey's, Ortiz's cookbook included a section to explain foreign or exotic ingredients and an appendix with lists of suppliers and mail-order houses that could provide ingredients, whether in the fresh, canned, or packaged version.[80] Julia Child had found it easy enough to fashion her first French cookbook around goods found solely within the American supermarket, but this was more difficult for many other cuisines in the 1970s and 1980s.[81] Sometimes substitutions would suffice in the minds of other cookbook authors, but some decided that the original ingredient was required for the proper taste, texture, or balance. In Ortiz's case, she insisted that ancho

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[77] Judith Jones to Elisabeth Ortiz, November 11, 1977, JJMC, Box 854.2.
[78] Judith Jones to Elisabeth Ortiz, July 26, 1978, JJMC, Box 854.2.
[79] Elisabeth Ortiz to Judith Jones, November 27, 1977, JJMC, Box 854.2.
[80] Three of the major ethnic cookbook surveys by Knopf of the 1970s included such lists. See Jaffrey, *An Invitation to Indian Cooking*; Ortiz, *The Book of Latin American Cooking*; Claudia Roden, *A Book of Middle Eastern Food* (New York: Knopf, 1972).
[81] Julia Child, Louisette Bertholle, and Simone Beck, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking, Volume I*, (New York, Knopf, 1973), vii.

chilies were necessary for one recipe. She had to assure Judith Jones that they were "quite widely available" in the United States, though Jones would have wondered if she went to the average suburban supermarket. Ortiz explained that they could be had at markets in New York, Washington DC, and "all through the Southwest."[82]

Jones had concerns about ingredients such as ancho chilies because she worried that "Mrs. Middle America" might not find such ingredients at her local market and was not willing to search inner city ethnic grocery stores for them.[83] She hoped lists of specialty importers in her cookbooks might partly solve this problem, but regularly asked authors whether substitution or omission of certain ingredients was possible. One recipe in Simone Beck's French cookbook, *Simca's Cuisine*, had called for a whole chicken to be boiled for several hours in water to make soup. Jones asked if chicken parts could be substituted instead, for they were easier to get in the United States. She explained to Beck, "maybe all this is not the French way of doing things and maybe you don't even get parts as readily in your markets, but it would seem fair for you to translate in this case the French way of doing things for Americans with their different marketing problems," adding that it was necessary to make the cooking process more "attractive" for Americans.[84] Even if the whole chicken would not become easily obtainable in American supermarkets, product lists were always changing, sometimes so rapidly that desired

[82] Elisabeth Ortiz to Judith Jones, November 27, 1977, JJMC, Box 854.2.
[83] Jones asked other authors to adjust recipes for those outside of big cities, but she used the term "Mrs. Middle America" with Simone Beck, who created a raspberry dessert with a special bottled syrup that would not be available outside of France, so Jones substituted frozen raspberries. See Judith Jones to Simone Beck, May 20, 1971, and Judith Jones to Simone Beck, February 2, 1972, JJMC, Box 847.7.
[84]Letter, Judith Jones to Simone Beck, November 8, 1971, JJMC, Box 847.7, Folder, Beck, Simone - Simca book, 1971-77.

ingredients could become available during the two or three year process of editing a cookbook. Jones asked Elisabeth Ortiz to submit "more interesting vegetable offerings" from Latin American cuisine in one correspondence. Ortiz provided a soup recipe for "boniatos sweet potatoes," causing Jones to say she would "keep an eye out for them." Though it was "a long trek up to La Marquetta," a Latin American grocery store in New York City, Jones thought the "wonderful mushrooming of Korean vegetable markets now all over the city" meant she would find some of the sweet potatoes "closer to home."[85]

Cookbooks and Translation

In creating cookbooks on ethnic cuisines, the three goals of determining which exotic ingredients could be had in the United States, making the cuisine accessible for the average American, and maintaining "unusual and varied" recipes from a foreign region sometimes worked at cross-purposes.[86] If unusual recipes were sometimes desired, they took some effort, especially when it came to getting ingredients. Jones hosted a dinner at her house using a recipe from Ortiz's book in advance of its publication. She had to "make an excursion" to a special grocery store to get ancho, pasilla, and mulatto chilies. Making note of this for Ortiz's book, she wanted some aspects of the Mexican cuisine familiar to Americans, but not too many, for the cookbook had to be unique. To distinguish the book, more of the unknown aspects of Latin American cooking were necessary, such as a recipe for feijoida, a common dish in Brazil.[87] The ingredients for

[85] Judith Jones to Elisabeth Ortiz, December 13, 1977, JJMC, Box 854.2, Folder, Ortiz, Elisabeth.
[86] Judith Jones to Elisabeth Ortiz, March 17, 1978, JJMC, Box 854.2.
[87] Ibid; Elisabeth Ortiz to Judith Jones, 1978, JJMC, Box 854.2.

such dishes would be readily available in supermarkets a couple decades later, but were not common features at the time. For Knopf, it was a major undertaking to locate grocery stores that carried special ingredients so they could be listed in their cookbooks. In particular, Judith Jones strove to make sure such ingredients were not only available in New York or Los Angeles, but in smaller cities too.[88] One reader of Claudia Roden's *A Book of Middle Eastern Cooking*, published in 1972, found this problematic. She wrote a letter to Roden saying that she found the cookbook "delightful reading" and the recipes "inviting" but could not find many of the ingredients in her native Canada, and that the book listed only one Canadian ingredient source. Irritated, she added, "as you are undoubtedly aware we are a rather large nation, in fact larger than the United States."[89]

Even if Canadian readers were not Knopf's priority, Jones' authors still had to strike a balance between offering something exotic, and thereby exciting to new readers, and giving readers enough familiar signposts. Roden and Ortiz listed staples of Mexican and Middle Eastern cooking, such as guacamole and kebabs, in their cookbooks. So too Madhur Jaffrey included recipes for mulligatawny soup and tandoori chicken in *An Invitation to Indian Cooking*, for those were the most recognizable Indian foods outside India. In her description of those foods, Jaffrey acknowledged their importance in Anglo-Indian cuisine and sought to explain their roots at the same time. She placed tandoori chicken in a "summer cooking and barbecued foods" section, knowing that this would

[88] Letter, Judith Jones to Claudia Roden, May 4, 1972 and the series of letters to such stores including Letter, Judith Jones to "Manager," Model Food Importers, Portland Maine, in JJMC, Box 854.2. There were indeed shops listed in Memphis, Louisville, Cleveland, Richmond, Indianapolis, and other smaller cities around the United States that carried these ingredients.
[89] Pat McManus to Claudia Roden, May 20, 1973, JJMC, Box 854.8.

make it attractive to the many Americans who barbecued in the backyards of their suburban homes.[90]

Even an American regional cuisine, Cajun and Creole, had to be translated for a broader audience. Rima and Richard Collin wrote *The New Orleans Cookbook* for Knopf in 1975. This was before Cajun and Creole cooking became popular during the 1980s, when Louisiana-influenced restaurants opened in big cities around the country, serving gumbo, blackened redfish, and shrimp Creole.[91] New Orleans cooking boomed because of three trends – the resurgence of interest in local American cooking, the vibrant personalities of Paul Prudhomme and other Louisiana chefs who appeared on television shows, and a new vitality for hot and spicy foods, as evidenced in the popularity of Mexican and Szechuan cooking.[92] Judith Jones pushed the Collins to revise their original draft so that it would be accessible to a wider audience of people. She wanted a "personal and engaging voice" in the book rather than a "pedantic and chauvinistic" one. To this end, she told the Collins that they would have to "seduce" cookbook purchasers by making Creole and Cajun cuisine "accessible – not something so special that it can only

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[90] Jaffrey, *An Invitation*, 38-39, 151-64.

[91] On the rise of Cajun and Creole cooking and Paul Prudhomme's role, see Barbara Hansen, "Let's Eat Out… Answering Seductive Call of the Bayou," *Los Angeles Times*, November 15, 1984; Ruth Reichl, "Cajun Cooking – Going Home to the Source," *Los Angeles Times*, April 21, 1985; "Totally Hot," *Los Angeles Times,* September 14, 1986; Phyllis C. Richman, "Mardi Gras Memories," *Washington Post*, February 29, 1984.

[92] Jones told the Collins that for their cookbook, "the history and lore (such as the derivation of the dish) is important because this makes good reading – and recently Americans, I think, have been taking a pride in their own culinary heritage." Quote in Judith Jones to Richard and Rima Collin, May 22, 1973. See also Judith Jones to Bob, Tony, March 5, 1973, both in JJMC, Box 848.12. On the popularity of spicy foods, see Menu, Ha's Restaurant, San Francisco, CA, 1985, CCSF, Folder, San Francisco, H-L which has many "hot" Hunan and Szechuan entrees, and Menu, Postrio, San Francisco, 1989, a Wolfgang Puck-owned restaurant which had several Asian influenced dishes that were spicy too, in CCSF, Folder, San Francisco, P-R. This trend would continue from the 1980s forward. See Florence Fabricant, "Riding Salsa's Coast-to-Coast Wave of Popularity," *New York Times*, June 2, 1993.

be appreciated locally."[93] It was also necessary to make the cuisine inviting even for those who had never tried it, and Jones argued that the Collins need to make an "effort [to] translate recipes so they aren't so dependent on regional specialties."[94] To counter the regional distinctiveness of New Orleans cookery, the Collins were prompted to compile a list of fish that could be substituted for those native to the Gulf region, saying that she would be less of a "purist" about the dishes in the book. Jones had wondered about the cookbook's accessibility when a friend went fishing on Long Island but could not figure out a recipe to use from the Collins' book, despite the wide range of seafood there.[95]

These problems in translating local methods and peculiarities were reflective of the cultural displacement inherent in globalization. Judith Jones attacked the problem of translation in her cookbooks because she was acting as an intermediary between an author who was familiar with the foreign land and the reader who might not be. As cultural forms were introduced to the reader, however, they often had to be changed so that the cuisine would either be translatable, at the very least, or inviting, at a higher standard. Translatable meant the foreign aspects of that cuisine were explained with sufficient verve and detail. Inviting meant the foods were of the sort that Americans, whether they were New Yorkers or Iowans, might first be willing to try them, and second, could acquire the ingredients or cooking utensils to make such foods. Translation and accessibility were always changing, for globalization brought more people into contact and made items such as cooking utensils or ingredients more readily available.

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[93] Judith Jones to Richard and Rima Collin, May 22, 1973, JJMC, Box 848.12 (emphasis in the original).
[94] Judith Jones to Bob, Tony, March 5, 1973, JJMC, Box 848.12.
[95] Judith Jones to Rima and Richard Collin, July 20, 1973, and Rima Collin to Judith Jones, July 25, 1973 in JJMC, Box 848.12.

In sum, elements of foreign culture had to be explained, accessed, and marketed. Cookbooks on foreign cuisines did not just explain how to cook food, they told readers what was most important about that cuisine too. In the Knopf cookbooks of the 1970s, we can see how both the more familiar foods of England and France and the less familiar ones from India and Latin America needed explaining. The translation process was one of constant give and take. Authors sought both the most elemental and most tasty components of the cuisines to feature in their cookbooks. In doing so, they made judgments about what was representative of a region or nation and conveyed that to the uninitiated. They also made judgments about one of the fundamental questions inherent in globalization – how do regions change as global trade accelerates? All of the authors had to contend with the manner in which the cuisines they described were changing just as American cuisine was changing too, partly because of their influence. This was all heady and complicated business, and the better cookbooks made sense of it in a small way for American consumers. If globalization brought the world to Americans, cookbooks provided an everyday translation device by using an everyday experience, eating, to explain the incredible variety in the world.

Cookbooks were one way to try new cuisines, but increasingly, Americans had more options to try ethnic foods at restaurants in the cities, suburbs, and towns around the country. As they ate away from home more, Americans found themselves interpreting and consuming many more foods from abroad.

Part II – Restaurants Translate Diversity

Multiculturalism and immigration policy have been at the forefront of the collective American political consciousness since the 1960s. From the early 1970s to the present, immigration policy has, in fits and spurts, come to the forefront of American political debates. Economic issues were often at root in the debate over immigration, but immigration's effect on American culture was more emotionally resonant for those on both sides. As with any political issue, there were many shades of gray but the cultural component of the debate often devolved into two camps – those who argued that the United States should stay true to its European heritage and restrict new immigration battled against those who welcomed immigrants from around the world and embraced multiculturalism and diversity.[96]

Whether or not one welcomed it, globalization and mass immigration simply brought many more aspects of foreign cultures from non-European locales to American life. The study of menus and cookbooks shows that there was more to the new diversity than English-only initiatives, border fences, or battles over ethnic studies curriculums. In a very practical, everyday way, Americans dealt with the new diversity in myriad ways. They chose Spanish over French language classes in their schools, listened to "World

[96] Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004); Peter Brimelow, *Alien Nation: Common Sense about America's Immigration Disaster* (New York: Random House, 1995); Roger Daniels and Otis L. Graham. *Debating American Immigration, 1882-Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (Whittle, TN: Knoxville Books, 1991); David Reimers, *Unwelcome Strangers: American Identity and the Turn Against Immigration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

music," and tried to understand the cuisines of the world by purchasing many more food magazines.[97]

For many Americans, restaurant menus were one everyday translation source for this new diversity. Menus helped Americans understand a wide variety of cultures, practices, and tastes. As soon as a person made the decision to go to a particular restaurant, she was faced with choices, and many menus attempted to navigate new ethnic terrains for the reader. Waiters did this too, but the menu was just as important, for if one was afraid to ask about lemongrass or bok choy or pupusas, it was great to have the explanation in print.[98] The need for translation is evident especially in the menus of the 1970s and 1980s, where ingredients and techniques that would be taken for granted twenty years later were still new to most Americans. The type of translation changed too over time, as Americans became more familiar with Vietnamese, Thai, Mandarin, Mexican, Indian, and other foods. This study of restaurants examines how Americans have understood and interpreted ethnic cuisines in the last forty years. It also explains how Americans' understanding of those cuisines and culture changed over time, as they increasingly ate ethnic foods from a wider range of places in the world.

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[97] Enrollment in Spanish language classes overtook those in French language classes in the mid-1970s and their popularity has not abated. By 1990, the number of students taking Spanish classes in universities was double those who took French. See Bertram M. Gordon, "The Decline of a Cultural Icon: France in American Perspective," *French Historical Studies* 22.4 (1999): 625-651. On "world" music during the latest age of globalization, see Taylor, "World Music in Television Ads,"162-92. *Bon Appétit*'s circulation grew, for example, from 240,000 to 1.3 million between 1977 and 1982. Pages of advertising grew from 349 to 1,040 in the same period. Lawrence D. Maloney and Jeanne Thornton, "America's Food Craze" *San Jose Mercury News*, February 3, 1982.

[98] Finding out what waiters said or did as they served patrons in restaurants is rather difficult. Some waiters are interviewed in newspaper articles, and many restaurant reviews make note of what waiters do, but those reviews often state simply whether service was fast or slow, rude or polite rather than the cultural translation process.

Restaurants are the focus here in part because Americans ate at them more and more over the last few decades. In 1960, Americans used about 21.0 percent of their food budgets to eat away from home. By 2000, they spent roughly 41.9 percent.[99] An examination of restaurant food is then fitting, for it has gained greater importance over the last few decades. As Americans ate out more, they also encountered a wider range of foods at restaurants. Even if some huddled in their homes to avoid interaction with those who were not like them, they still experienced cultural diversity in their consumptive activities – as they ate, shopped, and experienced music and movies from around the world.[100]

Restaurants are a wide and varied lot. Sales at commercial restaurants totaled about $294 billion in 2000. Of that amount, sales at fast food spots formed the highest proportion, or about $125 billion.[101] The high total reflects the increasing importance of fast food in America – one study found that fast food calories had increased from about 3 percent of the American diet in 1984 to 12 percent in 2004.[102] While eaten by all groups, the poor and middle class consume fast food in higher proportion, mostly because it is

[99] U.S. Department of Labor, *100 Years of Consumer Spending*, 29, 56.
[100] On the tendency for Americans to pull away from public life the more they experience diversity, see Putnam, "*E Pluribus Unum*, 149-51. The consumption of various goods from afar is examined in Purkayastha, *Negotiating Ethnicity*.
[101] Harris et al., *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002,* 35-40. The percentage of fast food sales as a proportion of all restaurant sales was relatively steady from 1993 to 2000. According to the USDA, there were about 844,000 food service eating establishments in 2000, with total sales of $358 bil. Commercial sales totaled $294 bil. and noncommercial sales totaled $64 bil. Noncommerical sales included food service at schools, hospitals, day cares, prisons, from vending machines and other esbablishments. In billions of dollars, commercial sales were composed of fast food stores (125), restaurants (114), lodging places (13), retail hosts (20), recreation (10), social caterers (7), cafeterias (3), and drinking places (2).
[102] This total included not just burgers and fries, but a large increase in soda consumption. Jason Block, Richard A. Scribner, and Karen B. DeSalvo, "Fast Food, Race/Ethnicity, and Income, A Geographic Analysis," *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 27.3 (2004): 211.

convenient and cheap. One study in California found that lower and middle-income teens ate fast food at a much higher proportion than affluent teens. About half of those teens living in households at or just above the poverty line ate it once a day.[103] Not surprisingly, fast food spots could be found in greater number in poor and/or minority neighborhoods in major cities.[104] Those restaurants that did not serve fast food totaled about $114 billion in sales. These included everything from the dive selling cheap salads to the fancy parlor offering $50 entrees. In this general restaurant category, chains, such as Denny's, Applebee's, and Red Lobster accounted for a large proportion of sales too.[105]

The ethnic restaurants described here are within the general restaurant category, and for the most part are not chains, though as seen later, ethnic food was eventually sold in large volume by chains such as Chipotle and Panda Express. Though there are plenty of cheap ethnic restaurants that cater to specific immigrant groups or to the lunch crowd in business districts, ethnic restaurants, especially those reviewed in newspapers and magazines, are patronized at a greater rate by the highly educated and wealthy. This slice also included young consumers who lived in major metropolitan areas. One survey conducted 1999 categorized this group as "Internationalists," and they formed a higher proportion of customers at full service restaurants with meals costing over $15. They

[103] Theresa A. Hastert, Susan H. Babey, Allison L. Diamant, and E. Richard Brown, "More California Teens Consume Fast Food and Soda Each Day Than Five Servings of Fruits and Vegetables," *UCLA Health Policy Research Brief*, September 2005, http://www.healthpolicy.ucla.edu/pubs/files/teen_fastfood_PB.pdf (accessed March 25, 2008), 4-5.
[104] Block et al., "Fast Food, Race/Ethnicity, and Income, A Geographic Analysis," 211-17. This study mapped fast food restaurants in New Orleans, finding that there were 2.4 per square mile in black neighborhoods as compared to 1.5 in white neighborhoods. See also Marla Reicks, "Fast Food Consumption among Minority Adults and Adolescents," *Nutrinet*, January 2005, http://www.fsci.umn.edu/outreach/faculty_outreach/nutrinet/archives/january_2005/fast_food.html (accessed March 25, 2005).
[105] Harris et al., *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002,* 35-40.

tried foods that were of a "somewhat more exotic nature" and loved to "travel and eat in ethnic restaurants where natives of other cultures eat."[106]

This group of internationalists grew over the course of the late twentieth century, so that many Americans became so accustomed to ethnic cuisines that they gave little pause to even unadventurous types.[107] In that time period, Americans not only ate out more, but also tried much more varied cuisines at restaurants too. Global trade and immigration were both factors that caused people to eat more foods identified with Asia and Latin America. Trade brought many more foodstuffs from many more places in much smaller time frames. Getting ingredients from afar meant making foods from afar was much easier. At the same time, immigrants brought food cultures to the United States that were previously unfamiliar to most Americans, such as those from Vietnam, Thailand, Japan, and El Salvador. They also reinvigorated food cultures that had been familiar, but in mostly homogenized forms, such as Mexican, Chinese, and Italian.

San Francisco and Restaurants

There are hundreds of thousands of restaurants in the United States of both the chain and independent variety.[108] For this study I have chosen to focus on restaurants in one metropolitan area, the San Francisco Bay Area. It has long housed a vibrant

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[106] *Ethnic Cuisines II* (Washington DC: National Restaurant Association, 2000), 1-73, quote from 53.
[107] Ibid, 5.
[108] One survey counted 505,250 restaurants and bars in the United States, of which 222,550 were full-service restaurants (there were 39,095 bars in the survey). The other locations served anything from sandwiches to ice cream and did not have full waiter service. Hotels, school and hospital cafeterias and military installations were not included in those totals. The top 20 "quick-service" chains, such as McDonald's, Jack-in-the-Box, and Baskin-Robbins included 97,807 locations. See Friddle et. al, "The Food Service Industry," 58, 59.

restaurant culture, one that has maintained its vigor through the present. Doris Muscatine, the most important chronicler of San Francisco's early restaurant history, found that just a few years after the Gold Rush, the number of places "devoted to eating was enormous and furthermore of a vast variety" in San Francisco.[109] One writer in 1855 called the city the "most curious Babel of a place imaginable," for its range of peoples and traditions, all of whom had to be fed.[110]

By the end of the 1800s, other areas of the United States experienced a certain cosmopolitanism, even if their populations were not quite as diverse as San Francisco. The turn of the century was a time when increased global trade and American military excursions abroad resulted in a global awareness on the part of Americans. Historian Kristin Hoganson has shown that American middle class women of that era were fascinated with clothing, home décor, and foods from abroad. These women delighted in possessing Japanese tea sets and kimonos, Zulu baskets, Javanese batik, and Egyptian bookends. She argues that they "appropriated" the foreign, positioning "themselves as enthusiastic beneficiaries of Western imperialism and global trade."[111] The "Orientalist craze" that "swept the nation" in the late 1800s corresponded to a desire on the part of the women decorating their salons to convey the "authentically foreign" in their homes.[112] These goods were used partly to express the reach of the American empire and the

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[109] Doris Muscatine, *A Cook's Tour of San Francisco: The Best Restaurants and their Recipes* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1963), 45
[110] Frank Soule, John Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2005), 505.
[111] Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*, quote on page 43, product lists on 16-24.
[112] Kristin L. Hoganson, "Cosmopolitan Domesticity: Importing the American Dream, 1865-1920," *The American Historical Review* 107.1 (2002): 62, 65.

worldliness of Americans in an era when Europe was viewed as the site for high culture.[113] Whether they appropriated it or not, they ate foods from abroad, or at least facsimiles of the foods when far-away fresh ingredients could not be trucked in. By the 1920s and 1930s, a vibrant restaurant culture still continued in San Francisco, just as it had since the Gold Rush. One series of newspaper articles in the *San Francisco Examiner* and *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1923, and again in 1932, looked at the various ethnic groups of the city. Nearly every description referenced the wide variety of foods and drinks consumed by the groups as the newspaper reporters toured various restaurants and grocery stores in San Francisco's neighborhoods.[114]

By the mid-twentieth century, the city of San Francisco was known around the world as a place to get a variety of foods in a range of neighborhoods – French food in the downtown area, Chinese in Chinatown, seafood on Fisherman's Wharf, or Italian in North Beach.[115] Guidebooks have long described the city's international flavor, often by citing its food. For many years, the San Francisco Convention and Visitor's Bureau called the city a "cosmopolis" variously known as "the Paris of the West, Gateway to the Orient and Baghdad by the Bay," adding that "nowhere is San Francisco's worldliness more evident than in its cuisine."[116]

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[113] Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium*, 41-50.
[114] These articles are compiled in Willson, Hodel, and Hodel, *Foreign Nationalities in San Francisco*.
[115] Muscatine, *A Cook's Tour of San Francisco:* 45-47.
[116] The bureau used the same language in publications separated by 18 years. See *Dining around the World in San Francisco* by the San Francisco Convention & Visitors Bureau, 1966, Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library (hereafter OAK), Vertical File (hereafter VF), San Francisco County – 1951-(I), and *San Francisco Restaurant and Night Life Guide*, San Francisco Convention and Visitor's Bureau, May 1984, (SF, CA), OAK, VF, San Francisco County -1951 – (II); See also the *Holiday* magazine issue devoted to touring San Francisco, April 1961.

But if San Francisco had its variety, it contained many more restaurants that conformed to the meat and potatoes sameness of the overall food culture in the 1940s and 1950s. Like other cities it was also a site for many chain restaurants, and as will be shown below, was dominated by meat and potatoes fare in the 1940s and 1950s. One could certainly find a good sprinkling of ethnic European restaurants in addition to the American diners, burger joints, fountain shops, and pancake houses that were found in San Francisco and the rest of the country. The restaurant scene in San Francisco had a wide selection of French, Continental, and Italian food. And notably, Chinese food was to be had in profusion, especially in Chinatown, which was reinvented as a tourist spot after the 1906 earthquake.[117] But despite the large numbers of European and Chinese restaurants, the rest of the Asian and Latin American cuisinal spectrum was not represented in abundance during the 1960s. In one short-lived publication, the San Francisco-based *Menu Magazine*, three-quarters of the menus were European or American, with the remaining quarter for non-European foods.[118] One guidebook, produced around the same time, listed just a few non-European places; it was dominated too by French, Italian, and Continental fare.[119] Across the bay, the Oakland Chamber of Commerce's guide had 20 out of 115 restaurants serving non-European or American fare, or about 17 percent. Some cuisines, like Armenian and Japanese, were relegated to an

[117] J.A.G. Roberts, *China to Chinatown: Chinese Food in the West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 145-46; Chen, *Chinese San Francisco*, 197-98.
[118] *Menu Magazine*, Fall 1961, 5, SFHC. I have included "Continental" cuisine among the European fare.
[119] Leonce Picot, ed., *Gourmet International's Recommended Restaurants of San Francisco* (Ft. Lauderdale, FL: Gourmet International, 1963).

"International" heading.[120] Likewise, in 1969 the San Francisco Convention and Visitor's Bureau's guide listed 15 Chinese, 9 Japanese, and 3 Mexican restaurants separately, but stuffed other cuisines, such as Armenian, East Indian, Indonesian-Malaysian, and Russian to the International section. As might be expected, the number of American and European restaurants in the San Francisco guide was also much higher. The pamphlet's cover claimed "nowhere is San Francisco's worldliness more evident than its cuisine," but the world outside Europe could be had only at a relatively small number of places.[121]

Meat and Potatoes Sameness in the San Francisco Restaurant Menus of the 1940s

The middle of the twentieth century was a time of relative sameness in American food choices. The period between the beginning of World War II and the return of mass immigration in the 1960s stands in contrast to the early and late twentieth century. The story of meat and potatoes sameness in restaurant fare can be seen in the menus from those establishments. Why were the menus so similar? A major reason was the slowing of immigration to the United States after the 1920s. Restrictive immigration laws, depression, and war all slowed immigration to the United States. The 1950s and 1960s were a time when the foreign born population in the United States was declining, for as immigration slowed, the baby boomers were arriving, adding to the native-born total. The

[120] *Oakland Restaurant Guide* (pamphlet) (Oakland, CA: Oakland Chamber of Commerce Convention and Visitor's Dept., 1969), in OAK, VF, Alameda County – Oakland – 1960-1969 (I). The pamphlet listed the following restaurants, which I categorized as European or American: American (50), Drive-In/Sandwich (16), Continental (9), Italian (7), Seafood (7), French (3), Kosher (listed under International) (2), and German (listed under International) (1). The list of non-European or American restaurants included the following: Chinese (9), Mexican/Early California (6), Polynesian (2), Armenian (listed under International) (1), Japanese (listed under International) (1).

[121] *San Francisco Restaurants* (pamphlet) (San Francisco: San Francisco Visitors and Convention Bureau, 1969), in CCSF, Calif-San Francisco, S-T.

1970 census showed only 4.7 percent of the population having been born abroad, the lowest proportion for over a hundred years.[122] The march of homogenized eating began in full force in the 1940s during the war, and did not abate until the 1960s. That sameness of the mid-century eating experience meant a common departure point for translation efforts of ethnic cuisines afterward.

World War II increased the role of government in most facets of American life, including eating.[123] The Office of Price Administration (OPA) was authorized as a separate federal agency in 1942 to stabilize prices and rents and ration essential goods, including foodstuffs, to prevent the inflation that had taken hold during and after World War I. The agency had regional offices around the country, including one in San Francisco. It monitored a wide swath of businesses, from used car dealerships and landlords, to butchers, grocery stores and restaurants. The Food Price Division was responsible for monitoring food growers, processors, and retailers.[124] In 1943, the OPA

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[122] In 1890 the foreign born population was 14.8 percent, and in 1910 it was 14.7 percent. These were the highest proportions between 1850 and 2000, reflecting mass immigration from Europe during that period. See Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*, Table I.

[123] One way of seeing this is mushrooming federal expenditures during World War II. The federal government's budget increased from 10.3 percent of GDP in1939, when the war effort was just ramping up, to its highest level of the twentieth century in 1945 at 43.7 percent. From 1950 to 2000, it hovered between 15 and 23 percent. See *Historical Tables: Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2004* (Washington DC: GPO, 2003) at http://www.gpoaccess.gov/usbudget/fy04/pdf/hist.pdf (accessed December 14, 2007), 7, 23-24.

[124] Administrative History, Record Group 188, Records of the Office of Price Administration, National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region (San Francisco), San Bruno, CA (hereafter NARA-PAC); Meyer H. Fishbein and Elaine E. Bennett, *Preliminary Inventory Number 32: Records of the Accounting Department of the Office of Price Administration* (Washington DC: National Archives, 1951), 1-6. A comparison of World War I and World War II prices is listed by the OPA in Office of the Price Administration, "Facts You Should Know," Statement No. 2, November 1943, Folder 8, Box 35, Defense Council Records, OSA, at http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/exhibits/ww2/services/price.htm (accessed October 1, 2007). Also see Meg Jacobs, "'How About Some Meat?': The Office of Price Administration, Consumption Politics, and State Building from the Bottom Up, 1941-1946," *The Journal of American History* 84.3 (1997): 910-41.

issued a regulation ordering restaurants to adhere to ceiling prices based on those from the week of April 4 to April 10. Price ceilings applied to a list of basic foods, including coffee, milk, and various cuts of beef. The enforcement component of the regulation required that restaurants file "a copy of each menu, bill of fare, or other price list of meals, food items, and beverages," as well as prices on any other services provided by the restaurant.[125] An OPA enforcement officer stamped these menus with a date, and some found their way into libraries and archives. Because government regulations ordered all restaurants to file their menus, they provide a fairly comprehensive look at the type of foods offered at dining establishments during that time frame.[126]

The menus of the mid-1940s, as seen under their OPA stamps, reveal a sameness to the restaurant cuisine of that era. Typically, the menus from the San Francisco Bay Area listed dinners consisting of meat, potatoes, and vegetables. The menu for the Fly Trap Restaurant in downtown San Francisco was fairly representative, containing several sections of what would be considered "American" or French/English derived foods, with a smattering of Italian or Mexican additions. These were soups, salads, fish and oysters, pastas, entrees, omelettes, vegetables, and desserts. The "cooked to order" page added sections for steaks, chops and cutlets, poultry, and sandwiches. The entrees consisted of

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[125] Quote from Office of Price Administration, "Part 1448 – Eating and Drinking Establishments, Restaurant Maximum Price Regulation 2 – Food and Drink Sold for Immediate Consumption," June 29, 1944, p. 3, in NARA-PAC, RG188, OPA, Accounting Records Field Offices, Region 8, San Francisco District Office Case Files, Ch-Co, Box 151, Folder – Gene Compton's Corporation, D-229-SF San Francisco, CA; War and Price Rationing Board, "It's Amazing!" (Washington DC: OPA, 1945).

[126] My claim that they are representative is based on a review of dozens of these menus from the Bay Area. Though it seems rather arbitrary which menus got collected in archives, I found OPA-stamped menus at the California Historical Society, North Baker Library, San Francisco, CA; Alice Statler Library, City College of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA; and The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. I found no menus at the National Archives branch in San Bruno, CA, but have not yet been able to determine if a trove of OPA-collected menus are held elsewhere.

meats such as a half-broiled squab with carrots, prime roast beef with spinach and French fries, and broiled hamburger steak. As with most San Francisco menus there was a wide offering of seafood, including sand dabs and oysters from the nearby Pacific. The war forced the restaurant to explain that it was "unable at times" to serve all those items listed, but the menu was extensive, and even diverse by the standard of choice. Though choices abounded, especially when it came to the extensive seafood lists, the types of foods offered on the menus at restaurants like the Fly Trap were quite similar to those at its counterparts in the Bay Area. Almost all the menus contained Northern or Western European foods. The exception was the smattering of Italian items, such as spaghetti and risotto, but these amounted to just a few dishes on most menus.[127]

Like the Fly Trap, menus from many other Bay Area restaurants during this era conformed to this standard of meat, potatoes, and seafood. The Garden Court and Parkwood restaurants and the chain of Bunny's Waffle Shops in San Francisco offered similar selections, punctuated by the occasional enchilada plate or pasta dish. Bunny's, with six locations in the city, counted entrees of chicken turnover, frank and beans, hamburger steak, lamb or pork chops, and fried chicken.[128] Explanations on the menus were typically terse. The listings for "Mexican Enchilada with beans," "Chili with Spaghetti," or "Beans and Frankfurters" needed no explanation, for Americans were

[127] Menu, Fly Trap Restaurant, San Francisco, CA, April 5, 1944, BANC, Richard Brautigan Papers, 1958-1984, BANC MSS 87/173c, Box 3:25A, San Francisco Restaurant Menus.
[128] Menus, Carte du Jour, San Francisco, CA, July 15, 1945, and Parkwood, San Francisco, CA, November 7, 1945 CCSF, Folder, Calif.-San Francisco, P-R; Menu, Bunnys Waffle Shops, April 6, 1944 (OPA stamp), San Francisco, CA, CHS, Menu, A-O, Folder-C.

typically familiar with these dishes.[129] The German-origin franks, sausages and burgers were already long commonplace. Mexican food occupied a curious intermediate position. Some items were familiar to Californians, but others were in need of explanation. Restaurants such as Caruso's in San Francisco that served Italian food also assumed knowledge of their foods, listing "ravioli italienne" or "veal scallopini," though the French spelling of Italian was surely to make eaters believe they were getting the gourmet's version. Even Caruso's had more meat and potato items on its menu, such as roast pork and veal porterhouse with mushroom sauce. It also claimed to have a special "rotary cooker" for those meats that sealed in all "toothsome juices" without use of cooking oils.[130] There was no shortage of all-Italian restaurants in San Francisco serving a wide range of foods from that country, but by the 1940s, Italian cuisine and certain elements of Mexican cuisine, like their Northern European counterparts, were also a part of the everyday consumption language of San Franciscans.[131]

In San Francisco, diners were also familiar with Chinese food as represented well in the diners and coffee shops that served both American and Chinese food. The Beresford Dining Room, Skyline Café, The Eddy Café, Season Café, Casino Café, and

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[129] Menu, Bunnys Waffle Shops, CHS, Menu.

[130] Menu, Caruso's, San Francisco, CA, August 8, 1944, CHS, Menu, A-O, Folder-C; Another restaurant that combined American and Italian dishes was Art Sandwich Shop, with creamed diced ham and green peppers; Baked lima beans and grilled bacon; Italian raviolis with cheese; hot pork sandwich, potatoes and gravy; spaghetti and chili, Menu, April 6, 1944, CHS, Menu, San Francisco-A.

[131] One well-known Italian restaurant in San Francisco's North Beach, a neighborhood that became a meeting ground for Italian and other immigrants during the early 1900s, was Fior d'Italia. It was a place to go for special occasions. Doris Muscatine, *Old San Francisco: The Biography of a City from Early Days to the Earthquake* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1975). See also Francine Brevetti, John T. Lescroart, and Paul Rockwood, *The Fabulous Fior: Over 100 Years in an Italian Kitchen: The history of San Francisco's Fior d'Italia, America's Oldest Italian Restaurant, established 1886* (Nevada City, CA: San Francisco Bay Books, 2004).

Dong's Café in San Francisco all had Chinese and American foods listed side by side on their menus.[132] In Oakland, the Peacock Café also had a double menu, as did the Dixie Coffee Shop in Richmond, a nearby World War II industrial boomtown.[133] Other restaurants also sold chow mein and/or chop suey alongside mostly European-origin foods.[134] Even a tea room in the Union Square shopping district offered the English/American tea foods of biscuits, pies, and toasts, but sold a combination plate of a "Chinese dish + Chinese cake or pie," too.[135] Fried chicken was a staple in many of these restaurants, often prepared "a la Maryland," but the Casino Café offered it "Chinese Style" accompanied by either pineapples or walnuts.[136] Most of these menus offered little explanation for their dishes, Chinese or otherwise, testifying that the Chinese foods were part of everyday life there. A couple listed Chow Mein with "fried noodles" in parentheses next to it. These menus also said egg foo young dishes were "Eggs, Mandarin Style." Most of the Chinese entrees were some variety of meat stir fried with vegetables, noodles, or both. And at the Casino Café, which said "American and Chinese Menu" on

[132] These were just the menus I found in the collections. There were surely more. See Menu, Skyline Café, San Francisco, CA, April 6, 1944, CHS, Menu, San Francisco-S; Menu, The Eddy Café, San Francisco, CA, September 8, 1944, CHS, Menu, E; Menu, Season Café, April 12, 1944, CHS, Menu, San Francisco-S; Menu, Casino Café, San Francisco, CA, (No date - circa 1930s or 1940s), CHS, Menu, A-O, Folder-C; Menu, Dong's Café, San Francisco, CA, April 12, 1944, CHS, Menu, San Francisco, Folder – D.
[133] Menu, Peacock Café, Oakland, CA, November 26, 1943, CHS, Menu, A-O-Oakland; Memo, Charles D. Pooley, District Accounting Executive, San Francisco District Office, OPA, to Charles Aikin, District Price Executive, San Francisco District Office, OPA, October 24, 1944, NARA-PAC, RG 188, OPA, Accounting Records, Field Offices, Region 8, San Francisco District Office, Case Files, Co-Di, Box 152, Folder-Dixie Coffee Shop, Richmond, CA, D-304-SF. This restaurant was opened in June 1944, and in September of that year began listing Chinese foods on its menu. The restaurant seated 120 and served 452 meals on average during the weekends in 1944. It was owned by a group of five men with Chinese surnames but employed mostly non-Chinese front-of-the-house personnel.
[134] Menu, Kent's Chicken Shop, San Francisco and Oakland, CA, November 16, 1940, CCSF, Folder, Calif-San Francisco, P-R.
[135] Menu, Aladdin Studio Tiffin Room, San Francisco, CA, CHS, Menu, Folder – Menu Collection, A – San Francisco.
[136] Menu, Casino Café, CHS.

its cover, there was truly a mix. All Chinese dishes could be served with bread and butter, but that was an extra dime.[137] The Skyline Café gave a bit more explanation for its Chinese dishes, with a parenthetical note for each entrée category, such as "Chow Yuke (green vegetables)." It also offered "special suggestions," with what were likely Chinese dishes that were closer to that found in China. As with many restaurants for the next few decades, it translated fried won tons for diners as "Chinese Ravioli," but on this menu, the deep fried squab was "Hoong Siew Bak Opp."[138] Based on their prevalence and sparse explanation on their menus, the proprietors of these restaurants certainly must have sold a lot of the Chinese dishes, even if they were the Americanized chop suey, chow mein, or chow yuk.

A "special notice for customers" on the Season Café menu explained that "If you wish, we will be glad to offer suggestions for your order for Chinese Dishes," adding an advisement to "Take home our Chop Suey and Chow Mein – We furnish containers." But if an explanation about the Chinese items and the possibility of takeout were not enough, the menu also noted that "We not only specialize in 'Chinese Dishes' – Our Steaks, Chops, and other dishes are also our pride." And it was in this vein that most American restaurants would continue through the 1960s – one of meat, meat, meat. Though there was much talk of shortages during World War II, average meat consumption actually rose during the war – talk of want combined with an actual taste of the meat itself fueled

[137] Menus, Beresford Dining Room and Casino Café, CHS.
[138] Menu, Skyline Café, CHS. Another restaurant that used "ravioli" to describe Chinese dumplings or fried won tons was Shanghai Low in Chinatown, Menu (no date, circa 1960s), Shanghai Low, CCSF, Folder, Calif-San Francisco, P-R. One study of Chicago restaurant menus in 1969 found the term ravioli in Chinese restaurants as well, John W. Teller, "The Treatment of Foreign Terms in Chicago Restaurant Menus," *American Speech* 44.2 (1969): 102.

hunger for it. One World War II restaurant's inventory showed many more portions of hamburger steak than those of pears, peaches, or codfish.[139]

A look at the menus of the chains that proliferated in the couple decades after World War II pulls the sameness of this meat and potatoes culture into full focus. Even when restaurants offered ethnically identified foods on their menus, they were typically meat-focused, although many came from world regions where meat consumption was lower. The Pig'N Whistle chain's restaurants throughout the West Coast sold meatloaf, tenderloin tips, beef liver and boiled smoked tongue on one 1946 menu. A couple years later, diners there could have veal cutlet, Genoa style, made with "Tomato Paste, Anchovy, American Cheese Baked," or "Albondigas, Mexicana (Mexican Meat Balls)," or finally, "Roast Sirloin of Beef au Jus, French Fries."[140] The Italian, Mexican, and French items were all meat heavy. As Hasia Diner has shown, one of the most important changes to the diets of European immigrants in the early 1900s was their increased consumption of meat.[141] This was plainly evident in the Pig'N Whistle's menu from the 1940s, when those immigrants had become older and their children were dining out too.[142]

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[139] On the debate over meat consumption during and after the war, see Jacobs, "'How About Some Meat?'" The inventory list for Gene Compton's Corporation, which ran a restaurant in San Francisco, showed a good traffic in meat-heavy dishes for the 1944 period for which the OPA field office examined its records. The OPA audited Compton's because it had put in an official request to raise its menu prices. Memo, H.W. Post to Charles D. Pooley, October 3, 1944, in NARA-PAC, RG188, OPA, Accounting Records Field Offices, Region 8, San Francisco District Office Case Files, Ch-Co, Box 151, Folder – Gene Compton's Corporation, D-229-SF San Francisco, CA.

[140] Menu, Pig'N Whistle, San Francisco, CA, June 8, 1946, and Lunch and Dinner Menus, October 21, 1948, all in CCSF, Folder-Chains-General-Menu-USA.

[141] Diner, *Hungering for America*, 30-32, 56-58.

[142] The Pig'N Whistle chain opened in Hollywood in 1927 and was a hangout for movie industry people. There were 12 restaurants at the height of the chain, but folded in the 1950s. The Hollywood location was

Chains of the 1950s and 1960s: Sameness from Location to Location

Like the Pig'N Whistle, during the 1950s and 1960s, many chains offered a few Italian or Mexican dishes, but the overall cast of their menu was one of meat and potatoes. The National Restaurant Association, a trade group, ran a contest for the best menus from members in various years. For the 1964 contest, the association also listed the three most popular dishes at the winning restaurants from around the country. With a few exceptions, those entrees were sirloins, prime ribs, hamburgers, or filets of beef. Some seafood and chicken appeared too, mostly prepared in English or French styles.[143] This fact becomes important in light of the need for translation of Asian and Latin American foods on menus during the 1970s forward, as restaurateurs increasingly looked to differentiate from those chains.

The dishes on menus in the 1950s and 1960s rarely needed translation because they were Northern European in cast, were often paralleled by processed foods at grocery stores, and had not yet featured the Asian and Latin American foods that would become commonplace after the 1960s. Independent and chain restaurants often shared the same foods. Café El Portal near Golden Gate Park was typical, counting a chicken tamale and a Spanish omelet on the menu, but otherwise offering the standard hamburgers and fried

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reopened in 2001. See "History," Pig'N Whistle Corporate Web site, www.pignwhistle.com, (accessed October 3, 2007).

[143] *Great American Menus* (Chicago: National Restaurant Association, 1964). The importance of meat was supported by one study of families in Medford, MA during 1952 and 1953, showing that meat was served as the main dish in 80 percent of the main meals in any given day. Beefsteaks and hamburgers were the most common of those dishes. Harry E. Allison, Charles J. Zwick, and Ayres Brinser, "Menu Data and Their Contribution to Food Consumption Studies," *Journal of Farm Economics* 40.1 (1958): 5, 9.

ham. The menu at one Smorgasbord restaurant in the San Leandro suburb was less Swedish than an adaptation of the smorgasbord buffet style with American entrees such as a top sirloin club steak, French fried abalone steak, and southern fried chicken.[144] Edy's a diner and soda fountain, also represented a common eating pattern of the time. With locations in both Northern and Southern California, it had a lone chicken tamale on the menu, but other sandwiches, salads, and burgers were self-explanatory for the reader. The only items that required elaboration were the many sundaes and shakes.[145]

Large chains conformed to this pattern as well. The chains that proliferated beginning in the 1950s were designed to have commonalities with the old roadhouse suburban diner. As a result, the chains adopted similar marketing strategies.[146] They also served similar foods, though of course the quality of one chain might be better than another. Howard Johnson's, Sambo's, and the Fred Harvey chains all had quite similar menus at their many branches. Ham steak, tenderloins, creamed or roast turkey, and the obligatory tossed green salad and French fries could be found on their menus. With 11 branches in Northern California and many more in the Southern California, Sambo's provided a map of its locations on its menu cover and advised diners to "Plan your trip from Sambo's to Sambo's." Surely some diners did.[147] The chains had different

[144] Menu, Café El Portal, San Francisco, CA, 1958, BANC, Paul Padgette restaurant menu collection, 1945-1990, Box 1:12; Menu, Onstad's, San Leandro, CA, 1952, CHS, Menu, P-Z, Folder-S.
[145] Menu, Edy's San Francisco, CA, December 18, 1954, CHS, Menu, San Francisco-E.
[146] Andrew Hurley, "From Hash House to Family Restaurant: The Transformation of the Diner and Post-World War II Consumer Culture," *The Journal of American History* 83.4 (1997): 1302-06.
[147] Menu, Sambo's No Date (circa 1950s or 1960s), and second menu, 1966, (Locations throughout the West and Midwest). See also Menu, The Alvarado Fred Harvey, Albuquerque, NM, 1953; Menu, Fred Harvey Union Terminal Restaurant, Los Angeles, 1965; Menu, Howard Johnson's, (Location – notation for "Route 2, Mass.," on menu) no date (circa 1950s); Menu, Stouffer's, Location Unknown, 1960, and second menu, Stouffers's (circa 1959 or 1960). All in CCSF, Folder-Chains, General Menus, USA. Also see Menu,

gimmicks, but similar food. Sambo's, Big Boy, and the Aunt Jemima chains all catered to families, using their different cartoon characters to draw in diners.[148] The success of these chains, and eventually the fast-food outlets like McDonalds, had the effect of cutting off business from independently operated diners in many areas, but the ethnic food boom of the post-1960s period would invigorate differentiated, rather than correspondent marketing in the restaurant business.[149]

The white bread image of the 1950s was no illusion – it could be seen in the menus of the era. Historians have debated the nature of conformity in the immediate post-war era, but whether or not there was an undercurrent of resistance as represented by the Beatniks and others, the period was still more Bobby Darin than Allen Ginsberg.[150] One factor was the constant reach of the Cold War in everyday life, as evidenced in one meeting of Texas state teachers in 1963. Those teachers attended the "Cen-Tex Study of America's Heritage," conference with a mission to "wage deliberate, effective, ideological, classroom warfare against Communism at every grade level."[151] Americanism in this context was fueled by meat and potatoes. Supported by state agencies and the major universities in Texas, the conference participants were served a

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International House of Pancakes, (Various locations), 1963, OAK, VF–Restaurants, A-K; Menu, Sambo's Pancakes, (California locations), 1961, OAK, VF-Restaurants, Q-Z.

[148] Menu, Uncle John's Pancake House, (lists 50 locations nationwide, with 7 in Northern California), 1964; Menu, Aunt Jemima's Kitchen (Location Unknown), (date circa 1950s); Menu, Frisch's Big Boy, (shows 195 locations in Florida, Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky), 1965. All in CCSF, Folder-Chains, General Menus, USA.

[149] On ethnic marketing, see Purkayastha, *Negotiating Ethnicity*, 118-26; Halter, *Shopping for Identity*.

[150] David Halberstam noted that social ferment was "beginning just beneath this placid surface" of the 1950s, but that in general it was an era of "good will and expanding affluence" and "few Americans doubted the essential goodness of their society." He also writes that many were beginning to question the focus on material goods in America, but that this was again, something fermenting below the surface. See *The Fifties*, ix-xi.

[151] "Americanism in the Schools," *The Texas Observer,* October 18, 1963, 6.

banquet of "steak, potatoes, beans, tossed salad, bread, drinks, and a good cobbler pie."[152] Based on that menu, they could have been eating at the Big Boy or Howard Johnson's.

Even as the 1970 census showed a low proportion of the foreign born, the nation's ethnic and racial makeup was about to change, and quickly. By 2000, the census would show radically different data, fueled by the mass immigration of the three intervening decades. For this reason, the collective American menu changed, and as a result of the new foods, a new series of translations was required. The sameness of the 1940s through the 1960s would make the diversity of the post-1960s period seem more incredible. Although global trade was accelerating rather steadily through the post-World War II period, the combination of that increasing trade and the massive immigration surge meant greater diversity after the 1960s. And no matter if ethnic restaurants were to be found in San Francisco as remnants of previous eras of mass immigration, there was something different about the post 1960s era food culture, for it included many more people from Asia and Latin America. Beginning in the 1970s, and with ever-greater emphasis from that point forward, newspapers, trade journals, and magazines trumpeted the rise of ethnic cuisines until many became quite commonplace.

Of Tacos and Sushi: The Rise of Asian and Latin American Cuisines in America

It is no secret to anyone who lived in the United States in the last few decades of the twentieth century that American eating options expanded over those years. Tacos, sushi, and Asian noodles all became increasingly important in the everyday eating

[152] Ibid.

patterns of Americans. In decades prior, each had been confined to certain regions or were tasted at the occasional exotic meal in a major city. What is not plainly evident, however, is the manner in which those new choices were interpreted, mediated, and reinvented by Americans in the post-1960s era.

Here I examine these new eating choices in restaurants in the light of that globalizing world by looking at the manner in which foods of Asia and Latin America changed in their American context over time. One change was the greater diversity of those choices, as reflected in the regional variations that they represented. While a common catchphrase of globalization was that the world was getting smaller, on an individual level, it was, in many ways, getting bigger, for there were so many more consumption choices for most individuals. Communication and transportation improvements made it easier to traverse the globe, but the man living in San Jose could experience much more of the world at an instant, whether through a trip to his local supermarket or restaurant, or by viewing aspects of faraway cultures on the television or Internet. This ability to access the world meant people on a daily basis had more difficult decisions about what to consume on a daily basis. To that question of consumption, this dissertation looks at one cuisine, Indian, to explain how Americans understood a mostly unfamiliar cuisine.

Before examining Indian cuisine in specific, it is instructive to see how the consumption of non-European cuisines rose dramatically in the post-1960s period.

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The National Restaurant Association has counted restaurants by ethnicity since the 1980s, identifying Chinese, Italian, and Mexican foods as the "Big Three" cuisines that are both recognized and eaten in large numbers by Americans. These cuisines have been eaten widely in the United States since before the 1960s, and the consumption of each rose over time as the consumption of other ethnic cuisines did too. Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, other non-European foods were becoming more widely eaten, just as the popularity of Chinese, Italian and Mexican foods surged. A 1992 survey showed 22,560 Chinese restaurants, 20,924 Mexican restaurants, and 18,351 Italian restaurants in the nation. That same year there were 15,815 "other ethnic" restaurants.[153]

Mexican food is an illustrative case in point. During the 1980s, restaurant trade publications abounded with articles about the surging interest and consumption of Mexican and other "hot" foods. This was reflected partly in the proliferation of Mexican chain operations, such as Taco Bell and Del Taco. Though there is some debate about whether those chains made food as it would have been eaten in Mexico at the time, the restaurants still typically *said* they were serving Mexican food.[154] Taco Bell succeeded not just because it was offering a food that was becoming more popular, but because it

[153] *Restaurants USA*, December 1992, 26-28.

[154] On the franchises, see "Franchise Restaurant Sales total $28 billion in 1980" *NRA News,* March 1982, which said that out of the 264 franchise restaurant chains of the self-service and drive-in variety, that 23 were operating Mexican franchises. This was compared to 103 for hamburgers, 48 for pizza, and 32 for chicken. Mexican was the only ethnically-identified franchise category (if one does not count pizza or hamburgers, which had long lost their ethnic identification). On the early history of Del Taco, see Andrea Neidorf-Weinstein, ""Entrepreneurs of the West: James A. Collins" an oral history conducted 1998-1999 (Oral History Program, University of California, Los Angeles, 2000), 50-52, 81. On authenticity and Mexican food in the United States, see Meredith E. Abarca, "Authentic or Not, Its Original," *Food and Foodways* 12.1 (2004): 1-25, or two cookbooks on Mexican and Tex-Mex cuisine written for Americans, Kennedy, *The Essential Cuisines of Mexico*, xii-xiv; David Garrido and Robb Walsh, *Nuevo Tex-Mex: Festive New Recipes from Just North of the Border*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1998), 7.

also re-engineered its restaurants in the 1980s and 1990s to make them more efficient and cost-conscious.[155] In the early 1980s, those publications explained the growing popularity of Mexican food, which they said was a "long-time favorite of the western states," but that "its ethnic dishes are quickly becoming accepted nationwide."[156] Mainstream restaurants such as Jack in the Box were "going ethnic" by offering taco salads, nachos, and dishes called "Chicken Fiesta" on their menus. One Columbus, Ohio restaurant had a very simple, short menu including the "Mexican shell salad" and "Oriental Chicken Salad."[157] Bars that served happy hour foods or appetizer trays were especially enthusiastic in taking up some of the Mexican foods. Finger food like nachos and taquitos served the purposes of bar patrons well. Bars and restaurants also served these foods because American consumers were saying that they would try more ethnic dishes if they became available at restaurants.[158]

As they became more available, they became more familiar, and in turn, American consumers sought new foods to try and familiarize themselves with. These consumers had not always been enthusiastic about the spicy and foreign elements of Mexican food, however. La Morena restaurant in Oakland had served Mexican food in the same location from 1932 to 1964. In 1964, one *Oakland Tribune* review took great pains to explain to readers the popularity of the restaurant, noting that it was a "beehive

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[155] *Restaurants USA* printed an adaptation of a speech from Kenneth T. Stevens, Executive Vice President of Taco Bell Corporation, Irvine, CA, in "Re-Engineering for Your Customers: How Taco Bell Did It," *Restaurants USA*, June/July 1994, 36-38.
[156] Elyse Cuttler "1983: The Year of the Cruvinet Dispenser and Rat fish," *NRA News*, December 1982.
[157] Toni Lydecker, "Fast Food Goes Ethnic," *NRA News*, March 1985, 12. The menu for Max and Erma's Restaurants, Columbus, OH, is listed in *Great Menus 1985*.
[158] See Anne Papa, "Shifting Gears," *NRA News*, March 1985; Ceilia Niepold, "Tastes of the Southwest," *NRA News*, May 1985, 12-15; "Mexican Restaurants – Hotter Than Ever," *NRA News*, May 1985, 33; "Ethnic Foods Fire Up," *NRA News*, May 1986, 41.

of activity," and that it must be a "favorite cuisine" for patrons.[159] It also made note of the number of families at the restaurant, though it explained, "it seems strange but children love Mexican food."[160] This likely seemed strange for the *Tribune* reporters because many of its readers were unfamiliar with "real" Mexican food, and the thought of little children enjoying spicy, non-American foods was unlikely. To set aside these fears, the writers emphasized, "good Mexican food is not necessarily hot," adding that the "tortilla, national bread of Mexico, is used as the basis of many dishes."[161] Just as the newspaper reporters explained the cuisine for outsiders, so too did the restaurant owners. They employed Angelina Ochoa to make tortillas, but not back in the kitchen. Instead, she rolled out her tortillas in front of patrons, adding "immeasurably to the charm" of the restaurant.[162] If eaters were not quite sure what the tortilla was, they could see it being made, allaying any fears about the cuisine.

By the 1990s, the tortilla was much more familiar to diners, as were other ethnic foods, whether from Mexican or other cuisines. Restaurateurs and grocery store operators knew they could find new markets for these foods, and were complicit in the introduction of new foods. One analysis of menus from restaurants nationwide in 1993 found that about a third incorporated "ethnic fusion" dishes and that the vast majority of restaurants freely picked from more than one national cuisine.[163] The use of Mexican-influenced

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[159] Martha Lee and Jerry Phillips, (Title unknown), *Oakland Tribune*, March 11, 1964, article on La Morena, OAK, Clippings File, Oakland, Restaurants, M-Z. The restaurant had changed owners in 1958, but not its foods.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Renee Iwamuro, "Mediterranean Cuisine has Healthy Appeal," *Restaurants USA*, June/July 1994, 47.

foods extended not just to the creation of new Mexican restaurants or chains, but also to the use of dishes or ingredients associated with Mexican foods in *non-Mexican* restaurants. Evidence of this turned up on breakfast menus, where people ate everything from breakfast tacos to grilled jalapeno polenta. The breakfast tacos were sold throughout the regions in which Mexican food had become commonplace; one Jewish student organization in Austin, Texas, advertised breakfast tacos on an outdoor signboard for its café. The jalapeno polenta was presented as a side dish for brunches in one magazine article that also described an array of French omelettes and crepes. Fittingly, that article described crepes as a "slimmed-down version of a pancake but filled and rolled like a tortilla." Mexican tortillas had become so familiar to Americans that they were used to describe French crepes.[164] One National Restaurant Association report in 1994 summed up the changes by saying that the "fastest-growing cuisines among adult consumers strongly reflect the growing influence of Asians and Hispanics in American society."[165]

Indian cuisine was relatively new to most Americans in the 1960s but would be consumed in increasing proportion during the last few decades of the twentieth century. By examining how Americans understood Indian food over time, we can gain insight about how Americans have dealt with the incredible diversity of the post-1960s period.

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[164] The breakfast tacos were offered at the San Antonio Café, served with fresh tomato salsa or avocado-tomatillo salsa at the Texas Hillel Organization, Austin, TX, See menu, http://texashillel.org (accessed December 7, 2007). Grilled jalapeno polenta recipe and the crepe description in Jay Solomon, "Dazzling Brunches," *Restaurants USA,* December 1993, 13.

[165] *Restaurants USA,* December 1994, 28. Another example of the rising popularity of Mexican cuisine can be found in Heather Papadopoulous, "Mesa Mexicana," *Restaurants USA*, April 1995, 43-46.

Indian Restaurants in San Francisco and America:

A Case Study in Translating Diversity, 1965-2005

Indian food was barely a blip on the food radar of most Americans in the 1960s. As shown above, the major ethnic cuisines that dominated restaurant fare in the United States for the latter half of the twentieth century were Italian, Mexican and Chinese. The number of these restaurants was far greater than that of other ethnic cuisines, and when diners were surveyed, they were naturally more familiar with those foods than others. In 1980, one comprehensive analysis of telephone directories throughout the United States found that Chinese, Italian, and Mexican restaurants accounted for 71.1 percent of all ethnic restaurants.[166] A 1983 National Restaurant Association survey had similar findings. It determined that 89 percent of respondents had tried Chinese food and 88 percent Mexican food.[167] A survey two years later counted a total of 302,837 restaurants in the United States with the two largest categories being pizza shops at 10.3 percent of the total, and hamburger joints at 8.8 percent. Oriental restaurants (mostly Chinese in this survey) totaled 4.1 percent, and Mexican 3.9 percent. In contrast, the "other ethnic" category totaled only 0.8 percent, folding German, Spanish, Greek, Indian and Soul food into that group.[168] Certain ethnic cuisines were to be found in higher proportion in some regions, mostly in correspondence to the history of immigration to those areas. About

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[166] Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Roving Palate: North America's Ethnic Restaurant Cuisines," *GeoForum* 16.1 (1985): 63.

[167] "A Glowing Year Ahead," *NRA News*, December 1983, 16. Although the survey only included 800 telephone respondents, its findings corresponded to the data found by Zelinsky and others.

[168] "What You Eat May Depend on Where You Are," *NRA News,* February 1985, 40. In this count, a full 94,456 restaurants, or 31.2 percent were unclassified, so there could have been many additional restaurants in any category. The classifications included ethnic types, such as Italian or French, and food types, such as café, barbecue, or donut.

seventy percent of Mexican restaurants were located in the Southwest in the early 1980s and a similar proportion of Chinese restaurants were concentrated on the East and West Coasts.[169]

The small number of "other ethnic" restaurants grew significantly by the end of the century and also required the greatest degree of explanation for American consumers. Surveys conducted in 1995 and again in 1999 found that Americans as a whole were becoming familiar with some of the other ethnic cuisines, including Indian, Japanese, and Thai, than they had been just a dozen years prior.[170] In a world in which peoples and goods moved faster and more frequently across regions, Americans were introduced to many cultural forms they had previously only read about at a distance, including food. In the ethnic restaurants in cities, suburbs, and even small towns, Americans negotiated this increasing diversity brought on by globalization. One of the largest sending regions during the post-1965 immigration boom was South Asia, as hundreds of thousands of Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis came to the United States.

Indian food and Indian culture were relative unknowns in America before the 1960s partly because immigration from India had been quite low. A small number of

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[169] "New Study Shows Restaurant Distribution across U.S.," *NRA News*, September 1983, 35-36.

[170] I compared results from three National Restaurant Association surveys in 1983, 1995, and 1999.The 1983 telephone survey found that 50 percent of respondents had tried Japanese, 21 percent had tried Indian, and 21 percent had tried "other Oriental." A 1995 survey, by contrast, found that 53 percent of respondents had tried Japanese, 30 percent had tried Indian, 22 percent had tried Thai, 19 percent had tried Vietnamese, and 17 percent had tried Korean. So between 1994 and 1999, the number having tried Japanese and Vietnamese remained the same, Indian increased 3 percent, Thai 4 percent, and Korean dropped 2 percent. In contrast to the 1983 survey, the 1994 and 1999 surveys separated the last three Asian cuisines, which likely would have been those mentioned in "other Oriental" in the previous survey. The separation indicated greater familiarity with those cuisines and greater diversity in food consumption. See "A Glowing Year Ahead," *NRA News*, December 1983, 16; *Ethnic Cuisines: A Profile* (Washington DC: National Restaurant Association, 1995), 11-13. The 1999 survey said that ethnic cuisines were "more common, more available, and more often offered by non-authentic providers," *Ethnic Cuisines II*, 5, 17.

workers from the Punjab region in Northwest India constituted the first group of Indians to immigrate to the United States in the first two decades of the twentieth century. They mostly went to California to work on the railroads, in lumber mills, and on farms. A large number of these Punjabis settled in Yuba City and Marysville, both towns north of Sacramento, and in the Imperial Valley at the Mexico border. Anti-Asian laws restricted further immigration from 1917 to 1946, allowing only students, scholars, religious ministers, and merchants. Indians trickled into the country after World War II, often as students, but only after the 1965 immigration act did Indian immigration surge.[171]

A look at the immigrants from the Western Indian state of Gujarat illustrates the fundamental change in the presence and influence of Indian Americans after the 1960s. One early study of Gujaratis in San Francisco conducted in 1963 and 1964 was notable for how small the group was. It covered "all the 22 families in the community," most of whom worked in the motel business.[172] That small group lay the groundwork, however, for the next couple generations of Gujarati entrepreneurs. At the end of the twentieth century, another study found Gujaratis owning about 16,000 of the nation's 50,000 hotels and motels, and a great number of those Gujaratis had one surname – Patel. One of the early hotel operators from San Francisco, Bhulabai Patel, started in the hotel business in San Francisco in 1949 rather than operate a restaurant or liquor store because Americans were not interested in Indian vegetarian food (Gujarat has the highest percentage of

[171] Karen Isaksen Leonard, *The South Asian Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 40-105. Congress passed a bill in 1946 to open immigration to nationals from India and the Philippines -- the quota remained low, at 100, but more importantly, the bill opened the door to naturalization for these groups. David M. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 15.
[172] Usha R. Jain, *The Gujaratis of San Francisco* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1989), 7.

vegetarians of any Indian state) and he strictly adhered to his religious prohibition on alcohol consumption. Bhulabai's grandson, Pramod Patel, came to oversee 12 hotels around the Bay Area.[173] Though they still abound in the motel business, most of the Gujaratis who immigrated to the Bay Area in the 1980s and 1990s came to work in other industries – especially in computers. Most do not live in San Francisco anymore, but instead make their homes in the suburbs like Fremont and Newark.[174] The Gujaratis in the Bay Area reflect the broader scope of Indian immigration to the United States. Indians came to America in very small numbers before the 1960s and worked in a small number of professions. By the twenty-first century their numbers were much larger and were a part of the overall consciousness. Convenience store owner Apu was a regular cast member on *The Simpson's* television cartoon, an Indian computer engineer was one of the trio of disaffected friends in the movie *Office Space*, and an Indian doctor was a core cast member in the television series *ER*.[175]

These television shows and films reflected a large surge in the Indian American population. From 1820 to 1970, only 40,796 immigrants had come to the United States

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[173] Anastasia Hendrix and Ryan Kim, "Family Fortunes: Gujaratis Combine Business Acumen, Strong Community," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 25, 2001. Pramod Patel explains his grandfather's early business in this article. The article also noted that the hotel business was desirable because they "provided shelter and work for the whole family." On the high proportion of vegetarians in Gujarat, see K.T. Achaya, *A Historical Dictionary of Indian Food* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 262-63.

[174] Ibid.

[175] *Office Space* [DVD] (Beverly Hills: 20th Century Fox, 2005 (1999)); "Apu Nahasapeemapetilon: The Simpsons Bios," *The Simpson's* Web site, 20th Century Fox, http://www.thesimpsons.com/bios/bios_townspeople_apu.htm (accessed March 16, 2008). The site's description of Apu says that "Apu peddles the usual Kwik-E-Mart fare (at remarkably high prices): luscious heat-lamp dogs, chewy frozen microwave burritos, and the ever popular squishee. Apu himself doesn't eat any of this stuff himself since, in keeping with his Hindu beliefs, he is a strict vegan. To Apu's great disappointment, his attempt to bridge the gap between East and West with tofu dogs, curry crullers, and chutney Squishees met with resounding disinterest from customers." On ER, see "ER/Parminder Nagra/Neela Rasgotra." NBC Television, http://www.nbc.com/ER/cast/parminder_nagra.shtml (accessed March 16, 2008).

from India.[176] In just the 1970s, 164,134 immigrants came to the United States from India, with another 250,786 in the 1980s and 363,060 in the 1990s.[177] And by 2000, the Census counted about 1.6 million Indians in the United States.[178] In the latter period, those from the Punjab, Gujarat, and other northern regions of India still dominated the immigration flows as they had in previous eras, but increasingly, Southern Indians came in large numbers too.[179] About 143,306 Indians lived in the Bay Area by 2000, which was one of the centers of Indian immigration, along with New York/New Jersey, Chicago, Los Angeles, Dallas, and Houston.[180]

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[176] Two-thirds of that total entered in the last decade, the 1960s. INS, *2001 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Tables Only*, 6-9.

[177] INS, *2001 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Tables Only*, 6-9.

[178] There were also 41,428 Bangladeshis, 155,509 Pakistanis, and 19,708 Sri Lankans in the United States. *The Asian Databook* (Millerton, NY: Grey House Publishing, 2005), 1.

[179] To document rising immigration from the southern regions of India, I examined language statistics collected by the Census Bureau. The percentage of people who told census takers that they spoke Indian languages at home increased from 1980 to 2000, as did the percentage of those who spoke Dravidian languages from Southern India according to "Table 5, Language Spoken at Home for the Foreign-Born Population 5 Years and Over: 1980 to 2000," Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*. In the data, Indic languages were Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Panjabi, Marathi, and Gujarati. Dravidian languages were Telegu, Kannada, Malayalam, and Tamil. In 1980, a total of 221,077 people spoke Indic or Dravidian languages (except Sinhalese, which I removed from the Census category because it probably includes mostly Sri Lankans), and 15.5 percent of those spoke Dravidian languages. In 1990, the number of Dravidian speakers actually declined to 14.94 out of 555,439 total. In 2000, 19.1 percent of Indian language speakers used a Dravidian dialect at home. The total numbers are most indicative, rising from 34,458 Dravidian language speakers in 1980 to 250,123 in 2000. The language question would include those immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh too, who mostly speak Urdu, Hindi, or Bengali, therefore meaning the percentage of Indians coming from the Southern regions of India relative to all those Indian immigrants likely increased. This data does not include those families where an Indian immigrant might speak only English at home, or those individuals who may share other cultural traits from one region, but still speak a language from another region at home. (For example, this could include a Tamilian who lived in Bombay most of his life, spoke primarily Tamil at home, but also spoke Hindi and English fluently. Those examples were quite common for Indian immigrants, for many were educated, spoke multiple languages, and had lived in multiple cities.

[180] The 143,306 Indians in the Bay Area were almost half of the state total. See Ryan Kim, "Census 2000: Who We Are," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 24, 2001. California counted 307,105 Indians, New York 250,027, New Jersey 169,209, Texas 127,256, and Illinois 123,275. The Indians in these five states composed about 59.3 percent of all the Indians in the United States. See *The Asian Databook*, 1724.

As relatively few people had migrated to the United States from this region in decades prior, the cuisine and its culture were new to most Americans when Indian immigration surged. For that reason, I examine here the strategies used by restaurant owners and food writers to explain the intricacies of Indian cuisine to Americans in one region of extraordinary diversity, the Bay Area. By contrasting the small number of San Francisco Indian restaurants found in San Francisco during the 1950s to the wide range of Indian restaurants found in all parts of the Bay Area in the 1990s, one can see the changing nature of Indian cuisine in America and the changing techniques to make that cuisine understandable to the wider public.

Efforts to explain Indian cuisine to American diners moved through three distinct phases between the 1950s and the beginning of the twenty-first century. In the 1950s and 1960s, Indian restaurants in America typically referenced Britain and its colonial legacy in India, replete with images of Bengal Lancers, hunt clubs for British officers, and the single word that encapsulated Indian food for American and British diners, "curry." Unlike Mexican or Chinese food, the components of Indian food were not familiar to most Americans in 1960. Any American had heard of curry powder, but many had not necessarily tasted Indian food, either in a restaurant or in their homes.[181] By the 1970s and 1980s, Mughal food and tandoor cooking had come of age, both in India and abroad. Restaurants in the United States began alluding to India's Mughal empire, when Muslim kings had ruled over much of the subcontinent, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth

[181] "Home Hints," *Safeway News,* December 1965, 8; Acton, *Modern Cookery*, 221-25; Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium*, 110, 114.

centuries. Referencing the Mughal rather than the British Empire was partly a result of Indians asserting their independence, both in India and abroad. No longer having to speak of the British power in India, Indian restaurant owners could celebrate their own great past and civilization – the rule of the Mughals. That was not the only reason for the shift, however. Just as curries had been an easy reference point for Americans who were otherwise unfamiliar with Indian cuisine, Mughal cuisine was especially suited to the American palate. Replete with grilled meats and breads, it was not a stretch for American consumers.

Even as more Americans tasted Indian cuisine, it was also slowly diversifying. By the 1990s, Indian cuisine in America had jettisoned the British past and had combined elements of the Mughal tradition with other properties of the cuisine from the Indian subcontinent. Because non-European cuisines were becoming more popular overall, Indian restaurant owners could use examples from those widely known ethnic cuisines, such as Mexican and Chinese, to help diners understand what they had in store for them. No longer confined to tandoori chicken and endless variations of meat curries, Indian restaurant owners could offer vegetarian dishes and foods from the southern regions of India without scaring off some customers. Diversity was translated anew for American consumers by using examples from Latin American and other Asian cuisines, and indeed, many new Indian restaurateurs used those foods to created hybrid menus.

In the forty years that Indian cuisine has become more widespread in the United States, the efforts to translate the cuisine to the broader American public have changed. By moving from translation via European colonial rulers to translation via other non-

European cuisines, Indian food has slowly become more readily accepted and understandable for American diners. By associating Indian food with other spicy foods, Asian foods, or vegetarian foods, Americans have found one way to negotiate the overwhelming newness of globalization, brought on by the onslaught of peoples and goods, which combine to create boundless choices. But as they have negotiated this path to understanding cultural diversity, Americans have also sought comfort in some standbys. Curries and tandoori are ever-present in Indian restaurants in America, for they represent a still relevant entry point to the cuisine. Though other entry points are now available to American consumers, these still resonate, for they speak to the need for the familiar. They also mean a certain sameness in Indian restaurant food, even as the cuisine paradoxically diversifies.

Indian Cuisine in the Bay Area during the 1950s and 1960s

In 1965, the San Francisco telephone directory listed only three Indian restaurants, and just two, Taj of India and India House, were regularly featured in restaurant or tour guides.[182] After opening in 1947, India House was the Indian restaurant most mentioned in San Francisco guidebooks until the 1960s, and typical of the time, it featured Indian food by way of Britain. A British couple, David Brown and his

[182] *Yellow Pages* (San Francisco: Pacific Telephone, 1965), 759-76. I counted those restaurants that had identifiably Indian names or referenced Indian landmarks or foods in their titles. India House was often the lone Indian restaurant listed in San Francisco guidebooks. See Raymond Ewell, *Dining Out in San Francisco and the Bay Area,* 2nd ed. (Berkeley: Epicurean Press, 1948), 33. Both India House and Taj of India were profiled in Muscatine, *A Cook's Tour of San Francisco*, 306-16. She counted four Indian restaurants in 1963, including a Curry Bowl restaurant not listed in the 1965 directory. See also *San Francisco Restaurants* (San Francisco: San Francisco Convention and Visitor's Bureau, 1969), CCSF, Folder, Calif-San Francisco, S-T.

"handsome blonde" wife, Patricia, founded the restaurant just a month after India had secured independence from Great Britain.[183] The Browns had learned the "art of curry making" in both India and England.[184] One review said David Brown was "as authentically British as Winston Churchill," noting that he paused in his regular rounds about the restaurant "only long enough to commiserate over the loss of India, still a prime conversational topic among his English regulars."[185] That atmosphere made it fit for the "Colorful, Amusing, Exotic" section of the restaurant guide.[186] To give the restaurant its exotic air, the Browns hired local Indian and Pakistani students to wait tables and serve drinks. The restaurant's short, simple menu echoed India and Britain. Entrees consisted of several curries, distinguished only by a main ingredient, such as chicken, crab, lamb, or prawns. Each curry entrée was accompanied by rice, sambals (pickled fruits or vegetables), and Major Grey's chutney, itself a British invention.[187] Acknowledging that curry was a hybrid British/Indian dish, one review testified that the curry at India House was prepared in "true Indian style," rather than British style, for it cooked the "curry

[183] Quote from press release, "India House Restaurant on Historic Jackson Square," undated, circa 1975, SFHC, VF Restaurants, S.F. Restaurants (Misc.). On the restaurant's origins, also see Ewell, *Dining Out in San Francisco*, 33.
[184] Ewell, *Dining Out in San Francisco*, 33.
[185] *Holiday*, April 1961, 167.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Menu (no date, circa 1950s), India House, 629 Washington Street, San Francisco, CA, CCSF, Folder, Calif – San Francisco, H-L; Major Grey's Chutney is thought to have been developed by a British officer who had traveled in India. The formula was eventually sold to Crosse and Blackwell, a major British food manufacturer, probably in the early 1800s. See Mimi Sheraton, "De Gustibus; Tea and Chutney: 2 Different Greys," *New York Times*, July 10, 1982; John Ayto, ed., "Chutney," *An A-Z of Food and Drink, Oxford Reference Online* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t134.e285 (accessed February 27, 2007). On the adoption, changes to, and popularity of Indian chutneys in Britain, see Collingham, *Curry*, 147.

flavor" through the meats.[188] Another review explained the nuances of curry for the prospective diner, noting that "authentic curry is, of course, not just one seasoning, but a carefully considered mixture designed to complement the particular food." It added that Frenchmen would not prepare everything in brandy, nor would Americans douse all foods in ketchup, so it would be ridiculous to expect every Indian dish to be a meat plus curry powder.[189] If the curry made some diners wary, they could order steak and kidney pie instead. Having such European fare on the menu was common practice in many ethnic restaurants, presumably to please the customer who did not want the sense of adventure that his dining companions craved. One review said dishes such as broiled steak were designed for the "mothers-in-law" who were presumably in tow with an adventurous couple.[190] Many Mexican restaurants of that era served burgers and steaks to please those customers who could not stomach tacos or enchiladas; one even titled that section of its menu "gringo items."[191]

Though in India House's first few years it did not sell cocktails, over time the bar became the selling point of the restaurant, for it contributed to both its exotic feel and its

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[188] Ewell, *Dining Out in San Francisco*, 33.
[189] Muscatine, *A Cook's Tour of San Francisco*, 308.
[190] Ibid, 312. Taj of India in San Francisco served chicken baked en casserole, and broiled steak.
[191] The Acapulco y Los Arcos chain, mostly in California, had one section of the menu with "Gringo Items and Egg Dishes," that listed a hamburger, cheeseburger, New York Steak and several omelettes. Menu, Acapulco y Los Arcos, (multiple locations), 1984, CCSF, Folder – Ethnic/Mexican. The Santa Fe restaurant in Kansas City, MO had an "American Selections" section on the menu with a K.C. Strip Sirloin Steak, Hamburger, Steak & Enchilada, and Santa Fe Burger. These offered guacamole on the burger, a rather uncommon topping at the time and a nod to the Mexican cuisine in the restaurant. A Mission, Kansas restaurant did the same, with hamburgers, fried chicken, and hot dogs in its" American food section." This was also common in many Chinese restaurants, such as August Moon in Kansas City, MO, which devoted half its menu to Chinese food and half to American food. See Menus, Santa Fe, Kansas City, MO, Don Chilito's Mexican Food, Mission, KS, and August Moon, Kansas City, KS, in Robert C. Mortimer, Charles C. Mortimer, and Eleanor Nelson, *The Menu Guide of Kansas City* (Pacific Palisades, CA: Corm Enterprises, 1976), 8-9, 12-13, 23.

British colonial atmosphere. By 1963, one guidebook proclaimed that the restaurant had a "GREAT bar," next to a drawing of a turbaned Indian barman pouring drinks. Behind him loomed the stuffed head of a Bengal tiger to finish the British colonial scene.[192] A contemporary *Holiday* magazine photo did the same, showing David Brown in front of the bar next to his employee in native Indian garb, both backed by a wall upon which dozens of pewter mugs hung.[193] Consistent with the touristy feel of the restaurant, its menu advised that the British mugs and Indian goblets could be "had through your waiter."[194] To confirm the Britishness of the dining experience at India House, Pimm's cocktails were its signature drinks. The restaurant boasted in one press release that it served the greatest number of these libations of any location in the United States, in what was "a cross between English pub and English club," replete with Indians serving the drinks.[195]

Three of the other Indian restaurants in San Francisco during the 1950s and 1960s, Taj of India, Little India, and The Bengal Lancer also demonstrated how diners might be searching for both the exotic, in the form of Indian culture, and the familiar, in the form of English tradition. In its description of Taj of India, one guidebook used hybrid Indian and British references. Waiters and hostesses wore Indian garments to guarantee authenticity, but the British legacy was still present. The "Hunt Room," one of

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[192] Picot, ed., *Gourmet International's Recommended Restaurants of San Francisco*, 8, emphasis in the original.
[193] *Holiday*, April 1961, 167.
[194] Menu, India House, (no date – circa 1950s), CCSF, Folder, Calif-San Francisco, H-L. The date on this menu is derived from comparison to a partial menu listed in *Menu Magazine*, Fall 1961, SFHC. That menu lists slightly higher prices for some menu items.
[195] Press Release, "India House Restaurant on Historic Jackson Square," undated, circa 1975, SFHC, VF, Restaurants, S.F. Restaurants (Misc.). Quote from Muscatine, *A Cook's Tour of San Francisco*, 307.

the "enchanting" parlors in the restaurant, alluded to those British officers and tourists who had hunted tigers and elephants in the Indian subcontinent during the Victorian era.[196] Little India was called "exotic" over and over again too in another restaurant guide. Run by the "internationally renowned dance team: producer Bill Carroll and his Indian wife, Cheetah," it was advertised by using drawings of two Indian dancers with the tagline, "Gateway to the Exotic East."[197] And similarly, the Bengal Lancer restaurant was run by a former Lancer officer, Francis Ingall, who had served in the Imperial Indian Army. Although his chef Bill Carroll was British, he had grown up in India and brought his British-Indian dishes to their restaurant, which was decorated with colorful Lancer uniforms, perhaps reminding diners of the popular film, *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer*, which had starred Gary Cooper.[198]

Associating Indian food with Britain, and later, the Mughal heritage, was in some ways a necessary practice for Indian restaurant owners before the 1960s. India was indeed exotic for most Americans, and their perceptions of Indians were often negative. Historian Andrew Rotter has shown how Indians and Americans shared negative perceptions of each other concerning foods, smells, work habits, religion, and masculinity. Around the time of Indian independence, "Americans saw Indians as

[196] The Gray Line Tours, *San Francisco Bay Area Welcome Map* (San Francisco: The Gray Line, 1962), SFHC, VF, SF Guides, 1962; Pamphlet, *Citibook: San Francisco*, published by the American Automobile Association, 1968, OAK, VF, San Francisco County – 1951-(I).
[197] *San Francisco Hotel Greeter's Guide*, August 1963 (New York: Guide Group Magazines, 1963) 51-52, SFHC, VF – SF Guides, 1963.
[198] "The Lancers' Glamour: Gone with the War," *San Francisco Examiner,* November 6, 1968.

superstitious, unclean, diseased, treacherous, lazy, and prevaricating."[199] Furthermore, because India was a new nation, it was viewed as "immature and therefore bumptious."[200] After independence, India, the predominantly Hindu nation, suffered in comparison to Pakistan, a mostly Muslim nation, in both diplomatic and everyday circles. Pakistanis ate meat, were monotheistic, and had been preferred by the British as administrators and soldiers during colonial rule because they were thought to be of the "martial race."[201] The journalist Harold Isaacs interviewed Americans in the 1950s on their view of Indians, finding that many believed Muslims to be better than Hindus. One observer remarked that Muslims were "good people [and] good fighters, whereas the Hindus are said to be mystics, dreamers, hypocrites," adding that he "was brought up on Kipling, [meaning that] all Muslims fine, all Hindus unattractive."[202] Americans in the first half of the twentieth century typically viewed India through such a British filter, including through the stories of authors like Kipling. This was common in the case of Asian and African nations before the end of colonial rule.[203] As with the interviewee above, they also

[199] Andrew J. Rotter, *Comrades at Odds: The United States and India, 1947-1964* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), xvi-xvii.
[200] Rotter, *Comrades at Odds*, xvi-xvii. Also see Andrew J. Rotter, "In Retrospect: Harold R. Isaacs *Scratches on our Minds*," *Reviews in American History*, 24.1 (1996), 177-88.
[201] Rotter, *Comrades at Odds*, 196. Most Hindus eat meat too, but many Americans did not know that, and Hinduism and Buddhism are indeed the two most widely followed religions with large numbers of vegetarians. In *A Historical Dictionary of Indian Food*, K.T. Achaya estimates that a quarter of the Indian population is vegetarian. Meat is also not consumed in as high a proportion in India as in America, even by non-vegetarians, because of India's relative poverty. Most importantly, he notes, "being a vegetarian occasions little surprise in India," 262-63.
[202] Isaacs, *Images of Asia*, 277.
[203] Before the 1950s, for example, many Americans had viewed Vietnam through British and French filters. See Mark Philip Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

remembered popular representations such as Little Black Sambo and Bengal Tigers.[204] The Sambo character became widely known to Americans from a book that Helen Bannerman had authored. For many Americans it conflated dark-skinned stereotypes about India, Africa, and the American South into one character and one story. In addition to the book, the Sambo character lived on as the name of a large restaurant chain that did brisk business during the 1950s and 1960s. The pancake house, Sambo's, had been named such because Little Black Sambo triumphantly eats 169 pancakes in one part of the story. Its menus showed Sambo in a bejeweled turban next to a tiger, ready to stuff himself with pancakes.[205]

India House and other restaurants then had every reason to reference British or Mughal rule before the 1970s, for diners would be able to make connections to those elements that celebrated the exotic or triumphant past of India rather than the nuances of the food itself. In the case of Muslim foods, although many of the early Punjabi restaurateurs in the United States were Sikh or Hindu, they still cooked a heavy dose of Muslim-influenced dishes, which featured meats and breads. This was in good part because even though many Hindus in India eat meat, they were invariably associated with vegetarianism – something not quite attractive in the pre-1960s meat and potatoes era.[206]

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[204] Rotter, *Comrades at Odds*, 8, 150-57. Rotter quotes Kipling as saying that India was "divided equally between jungle, tigers, cobras, cholera, and sepoys."

[205] Rotter, *Comrades at Odds*, 150-51. Menu, Sambo's No Date (circa 1950s or 1960s), and second menu, 1966, (Locations throughout the West and Midwest), CCSF, Folder-Chains, General Menus, USA; Also see Menu, Sambo's Pancakes, (California locations), 1961, OAK, VF-Restaurants, Q-Z.

[206] The "sacred cow" was one of the problems associated with Indians in this era. Americans wondered how cows, monkeys, and other animals could be so revered, especially when India was so often struck by famine. See Rotter, *Comrades at Odds*, 17.

In 1968, three Indian immigrants who had started as waiters and barmen at India House bought it from the previous owners, the Browns. They decided to keep some of the spot's British elements while adding distinguishing features to the preparation of the Indian foods. To highlight the change, they issued a press release explaining to reporters that curries were not all the same and that each type was flavored differently. Though they wanted to break a bit from the previous owners, it would have been foolish to get rid of one of the restaurant's main revenue sources, so their release began with a page-long description of the glories of Pimm's Cups, the British drink. One key change, however, was the addition of a tandoor oven, which was slowly becoming a standard feature on menus in many Indian restaurants. One of the new owners, Sarwan Gill, had immigrated from the Punjab region of Northwest India in the 1950s and worked as a waiter at India House for ten years before becoming an owner. Like many of the small number of Indian immigrants of his era, he had come as a student to the United States, eventually graduating from the University of California at Berkeley. He and his co-owners opened another restaurant in Berkeley in 1972.[207]

Onto and Into the Tandoor

During the 1960s, immigrants like Gill were becoming more common in some American cities. At the same time, some of the negative images of India were softening

[207] Notes, Sarwan S. Gill, accompanying Press Release (undated, circa 1970s), "India House Restaurant on Historic Jackson Square," SFHC, VF, Restaurants, Folder "Misc." Gill's co-owners were Abdul Rhman and Shanti Patel. Much of the press release was quite similar to Doris Muscatine's section on India House in *A Cook's Tour of San Francisco*, published in 1963 but the handwritten notes added new information about Gill; Indian immigrants between 1952 and 1965 were mostly professionals or students, Reimers, *Still the Golden Door*, 31. See also Leonard, *The South Asian Americans*, 67-71.

for many American consumers, for the popularity of everything Eastern in some social circles expanded the broader public's understanding of some aspects of Indian culture. Ironically, it was British musicians who helped change perceptions of Indians from offensive colonial subjects to possessors of a long glorious culture. The "British Invasion" of rock groups such as the Byrds and Beatles to the United States brought "Raga Rock" or music tinged with sitars and Indian classical melodies to the American airwaves.[208] Meanwhile, in the United States, aging beatniks and young hippies practiced Zen, yoga, and other Asian spiritual forms, as they ate tofu, brown rice, and other associated foods.[209]

Though some Americans newly subscribed to vegetarianism during the 1960s and 1970s, most still craved meat, and the tandoor oven that Sarwan Gill and others employed in their Indian restaurant kitchens fit that craving. The addition of tandoor specialties was a reflection of a bigger change in Indian restaurant cuisine in India and America. Food in India had changed after 1947 as a result of the upheavals of independence. Then, India had been partitioned to create Pakistan, and millions fled across new borders to choose sides. The Punjab was particularly affected, as it straddled both countries after partition.

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[208] Jonathan Bellman, "Indian Resonances in the British Invasion, 1965-1968," *The Journal of Musicology* 15.1 (1997): 116-36; David R. Peck, "Beatles Orientalis: Influences from Asia in a Popular Song Tradition," *Asian Music* 16.1 (1985): 83-149.

[209] Richard Alpert, who conducted studies on Harvard University students to determine the effects of psilocybin mushrooms, turned to Hinduism after leaving academia. Allen Ginsberg read Zen texts extensively. See Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil war of the 1960s*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 151, 161; Bruce Schulman describes hippies' preponderance for brown rice, tofu, and Zen bakeries in *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001), 14, 88-90; In "Slouching Towards Bethlehem," Joan Didion's essay about life in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood during the 1960s, she observes one woman cooking seaweed in a makeshift living space called the "Warehouse" and shares tempura with one hippie-turned-businessman in Japantown, Joan Didion, *Slouching Towards Bethlehem* (New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1968), 95, 103.

One Punjabi, Kundan Lal Gujral, had moved from Peshawar to Delhi during the partition, bringing a tandoor oven with him. This clay oven was common in the region, and Gujral had learned to cook meats in the tandoor when working at a stall in Peshawar. He opened the Moti Mahal restaurant in Delhi in 1947, and it soon became a sensation for its tandoor meats and breads, butter chicken, and dal makhani. These dishes had not been widely known in Delhi prior. The cookbook author Madhur Jaffrey, who lived in the city at the time, called Gujral's creations "food with a new attitude."[210] Gujral's business was helped along by the fact that Prime Ministers Jawarhalal Nehru and Indira Gandhi frequently contracted Moti Mahal for official dinners.[211] Tandoor foods became what were associated with Indian cuisine for many years to come. Most *Indians* had not been familiar with tandoor foods before the 1940s, but the grilled meats and butter chicken (likely the precursor to chicken tikka masala) were to become *the* dishes most served in Indian restaurants outside India.[212] By 1997 a Gallup poll declared curry the favorite food of Britons, and chicken tikka masala, with its Indian spices, tomato, and cream, was the most popular "curry" type.[213] The introduction of tandoor dishes and chicken tikka masala was thought responsible for a renaissance in British food beginning in the 1990s.

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[210] Jaffrey, *Climbing the Mango Trees*, 191-92.
[211] Monish Gujral, *Moti Mahal's Tandoori Trail* (New Delhi: Thomson Press, 2004), 8, 14-15.
[212] Madhur Jaffrey said tandoori items are "what everyone associates with India," in Debbie Elliott, "In the Kitchen with Madhur Jaffrey," *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio, November 25, 2006, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6525257 (accessed October 26, 2007); Also see Colleen Taylor Sen, "Kundan Lal Gujral," in Arndt, ed., *Culinary Biographies,* 193-94. Sen agrees that Gujral basically invented butter chicken and popularized tandoori cooking.
[213] Shrabani Basu, *Curry in the Crown: The Story of Britain's Favourite Dish* (Delhi: HarperCollins, 1999), xv-xvii, 185.

One *New York Times* reporter commented that Indian food had saved Britons from the "bland boiled nursery yuck that generations… had little choice but to swill."[214]

After seeing Gujral's success, many fellow Punjabis followed suit and opened restaurants in Delhi and beyond with tandoori specialties and dishes from the Mughal court. This would change the nature of Indian cuisine in America, for it would slowly lose its British overtures and instead be associated with Mughal traditions, and later, with the organic and vegetarian food movements. This change meant different modes of translation for American audiences. Whereas through the 1960s, Indian restaurants in America used the language of British imperialism to help Americans understand Indian food, that currency was no longer valid by the 1970s, for the British had been long gone by then. Furthermore, the Indians who came to the United States and opened restaurants no longer needed to reference their British past – they could instead look to a grand Indian empire, the Mughal one, for translatable foods. If the Indo-British version of Indian food had created a certain sameness of cuisine, with curry after curry varied only by the meat within, the Mughal version was simply a shift to another sameness of sorts. Those menus had to reference the familiar as well, so they kept the curries of the previous restaurants, but added grilled meats and bread from the tandoor. Even by the 1990s, when some restaurants were beginning to stray from the tandoori and curry formula, one *San*

[214] Henry Shukman, "Where Indian Cuisine Reaches for the Stars," *New York Times*, March 4, 2007. The origin of chicken tikka masala is disputed, but some argue that it is really a derivation of the butter chicken created by Kundan Lal Gujral. See "Kundan Lal Gujral" in Alice Arndt, ed., *Culinary Biographies*, 193-94. The BBC calls the provenance of chicken tikka masala "hazy" but suggests it may have been introduced by Bangladeshi chefs in Glasgow in the 1950s. No matter if this happened, Gujral had popularized butter chicken by that time. "Chicken Tikka Masala: Spice and Easy Does it," *BBC News,* April 20, 2001 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special_report/1999/02/99/e-cyclopedia/1285804.stm (accessed November 2, 2007).

Francisco Chronicle article asked why the region's Indian restaurants served formula food of little distinction. It concluded that the "standardized" and familiar form of "tandoor, tandoor, tandoor" was what most non-Indian customers desired, making it "risky" to offer other types of Indian cuisine.[215] It did not help that in many restaurants, the uninitiated "got little help from most waiters in deciphering the bill of fare," so introducing new foods would have been a lost cause for those establishments.[216]

New Strategies for Translating Indian Food after the 1980s

Even as many restaurants seemed to "cook from a central kitchen," Indian restaurants in the Bay Area were becoming more common, partly because of global transactions. Indian immigrants came in great numbers to the United States, but they did not present the old image of India as a poverty-addled nation. This was in part because India itself was changing – the Indian middle class began to grow, and the nation was no longer young – the memory of British rule was beginning to fade.[217] Immigrants from India were much richer and better educated than those from most other nations, and

[215] First two quotes from unidentified local Indian immigrants, and "risky" from Julie Sahni, New York-based cookbook author, in Maria Cianci, "Why so Many Menus Look so Much Alike," *San Francisco Chronicle,* April 12, 1995. The food served to New Yorkers was also quite similar among Indian restaurants. The four restaurants listed in one Manhattan guidebook in 1983 had the standard tandoori and curry items. One, Raga, featured a few more regional specialties, including dishes from Goa and Hyderabad, but it still had a tandoori mixed grill on the bill of fare. The restaurants were Akbar, Bombay Palace, Gaylord, and Raga, all in Manhattan. *Manhattan Menus: The Great Restaurant Guide* (New York: s.n., 1983), 103-4, 127-28, 177-78, 237-38. See also Menu, Bengal Tiger, Los Angeles, reprinted in Robert C. Mortimer and Charles C. Mortimer eds., *The Menu Guide of Los Angeles* (Pacific Palisades, CA: Corm Enterprises, 1976), 14-15.

[216] Susan Spedalle, "Once Exotic Indian Cuisine Gaining Momentum in the U.S.," *Nation's Restaurant News*, August 27, 1984, 29.

[217] On the Indian middle class and its role in globalization, see Tulasi Srinivas, "'A Tryst with Destiny': The Indian Case of Cultural Globalization," in Berger and Huntington, *Many Globalizations*, 89-116.

median income for Indian households was 62 percent higher than that of the general population.[218] Many initially came on special visas to work in the electronics and medical industries or to complete graduate and professional degrees. Those immigrants also created vibrant business connections between the United States and India – ones that went beyond the old First World – Third World construct. Instead, professionals in each nation were connecting on business prospects.[219]

One of those connections came in the form of restaurants. In the 1980s and 1990s, Indian corporations opened restaurants in the United States, some with several branches in India, Britain, or Canada as well.[220] Some of these chains, such as Gaylord's, served tandoori fare, and in some branches they toned down the spices resulting in many dishes tasting the same.[221] Gaylord's had begun in India in 1946 and independently owned versions were opened in Chicago, New York, and Washington DC during the 1950s and 1960s.[222] In the 1970s, the New York iteration even employed a chef who had previously

[218] This figure from Mike Swift, "Illegal Immigration from India Growing," *Contra Costa Times*, February 20, 2008 (accessed March 16, 2008). Household income for Asian Indians in 1999 was $70,708, second only to Japanese Americans among Asians (at $70,849). Indians had the highest education levels among Asian Americans, with 63.9 percent of adults 25 and older having a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 24.4 percent of the overall population and 44.1 percent of the Asian population. The high education levels of Asians in general likely contributed to the overall impression that Indian immigrants were not from the teeming immigrant masses. See Terrance J. Reeves and Claudette E. Bennett, *We the People: Asians in the United States* (Washignton DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004), 12, 16, 20.
[219] On the professional nature of the new immigrants and the vibrant business connections, see Saxenian, *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs*.
[220] Quote from Maria Cianci, "Why so Many Menus"; Susan Spedalle, "Once Exotic Indian"
[221] John Canaday, "Dining: Off to India by the Short Route," *New York Times*, April 26, 1974; See also Menu, Gaylord (India) Restaurant, in *Manhattan Menus: The Great Restaurant Guide* (New York: 1983), 176-77.
[222] Gaylord India Restaurants, "About Gaylord India Restaurants," http://www.gaylords.com/history.html (accessed November 9, 2007).

cooked at Delhi's Moti Mahal.[223] Kishore Kripalani opened his first Gaylord India Restaurant in San Francisco in 1976, and by 2007, he had seven locations, including five in California.[224] Chains like Gaylord's were also sustained in part because Indian migration was accelerating after the 1960s.

Immigration from India slowly included many more immigrants from the Southern regions where tandoor foods were not commonplace, causing many Indian restaurants in America to take on a new cast. These immigrants were accustomed to more vegetable and lentil dishes and a profusion of breads made from chickpea and fermented rice flour, as served in the stalls, restaurants, and homes in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Kerala in the South.[225] In many American restaurants, however, these dishes were still served alongside the standby trifecta of chicken curry, chicken tikka, and tandoori chicken. Restaurants offered the string of meat curries and tandoor items together with South Indian and vegetarian dishes so that both Indians and non-Indians could find something on the menu. In 1989, the two Indian restaurants listed in one East Bay guidebook illuminated this shift. The first, Sabina Indian Cuisine, served precisely the curries and kebobs that had been offered in Indian restaurants ever since India House and Gaylord's installed tandoor ovens.[226] The largest section of the Sabina menu was

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[223] Craig Claiborne, "A Rare Thing: Indian Restaurant With Food to Get Excited About," *New York Times*, September 26, 1974.
[224] See Jing Zhou, "Gaylord India Restaurant Keeps Standards High as it Expands," *Nation's Restaurant News*, August 6, 2007, 66; Myra MacPherson, "Embassy Chefs Transfer their Allegiance," *New York Times*, August 21, 1968.
[225] On the varieties of foods eaten in the regions of India, see Sen, *Food Culture in India*, 81-138.
[226] India House installed its tandoor oven in the 1970s, and one reviewer said its menu had "evolved very little" over time. It closed in 1995. See also Menu, Gaylord India Restaurant, San Francisco, CA, in Maria Theresa Caen, *San Francisco Epicure: A Menu Guide to the San Francisco Area's Finest Restaurants* (Seattle: Peanut Butter Publishing, 1986), 58-59.

"Tandoori specialties." Like many Indian restaurants, it made its mark with a lunch buffet, attracting office workers in Oakland's downtown.[227]

A Berkeley restaurant, Sujatha's, instead gave diners both tandoor meats and "Madras" specials. The guide said the restaurant's specialties were as "varied as India" with an emphasis on Bombay in the North and Madras in the South.[228] At about the same time Sujatha's was serving a combination of Indian regional fare, Vik's Chaat House was founded as a spot to serve "street" food from a wide range of Indian regions. It soon became one of the most popular inexpensive restaurants in Berkeley.[229] The owner's son said they served a variety of non-tandoor specialties because Indians "don't crave naan or tandoori chicken. [They] want to eat the zippy, zesty food."[230] Just over a decade later, Vik's was still thriving and the number of South Indian restaurants had increased, partly to serve Indian immigrants flocking to work in the booming technology industry.[231] Branches of the successful Woodlands restaurant chain from India had opened in the United States by then, including one in Newark, a suburb in the East Bay where many Indian immigrants lived. More non-Indians had become acquainted with the food, but restaurant reviews still required fairly detailed explanations of the intricacies of the

[227] Menu and review of Sabina Indian Cuisine, Oakland, CA, in *Cityguide 1989/90: Alameda & Contra Costa Counties* (Danville, CA: Shandra Publications, 1989), 138.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Amanda Berne, "Master of Spices," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 19, 2006. Vik's opened in 1989 but expanded after that to a different, warehouse location to serve a larger customer base.
[230] Ibid. Quote from Amod Chopra.
[231] David W. Lyon, "Global California: The Connection to Asia," (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2003), 1-4; Saxenian, *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs*, viii. Saxenian estimated that in 1990, around 15 percent of the engineers in Silicon Valley were Indian or Chinese.

vegetarian cuisine. Utthapams, breads made of fermented rice flour, were "thick, puffy pancakes topped like pizzas," in one review of Woodlands.[232]

While Indian immigrants craved "zippy" and "zesty" food, other Americans increasingly wanted those foods too. In order to explain the new Indian foods for an American audience, many menus and restaurant reviews referenced other cuisines, as in the description of utthapams as hybrid pancake/pizzas. "Dungeness crab Punjabi enchiladas" and "curried tender chicken breast Punjabi tostadas" were served at one restaurant in Sausalito, just north of San Francisco. The same restaurant started a Punjabi burrito takeout service in a nearby town, capitalizing on the popularity of burritos in the Bay Area, but also seeking to distinguish its offerings from competitors.[233]

Though the Punjabi enchilada was not common in American restaurants, the general combination of elements from a number of "spicy" or "hot" cuisines was. Mexican food had been widely available for decades in the United States, but its popularity surged in the 1980s and 1990s. The heat and spice factors in Mexican and other cuisines became attractions rather than put-offs over these decades, as more and more Americans sought these foods. And because Mexican food was so widely eaten,

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[232] Aleta Watson, "Fresh Vegetarian Eating: Popular Chain in India Comes to Newark," *San Jose Mercury News*, October 18, 2002.

[233] The restaurant also featured Jamaican-Indian and Cajun-Indian combinations, owing to the similar spices and ingredients used in those cuisines. David Sason, "Avatar's," *North Bay Bohemian*, August 16-22, 2006, http://www.metroactive.com/bohemian/08.16.06/bite-0633.htm (accessed October 29, 2007); Keith Power, "Sausalito Spot offers Indian with Something Extra," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 7, 1998. The Avatar's restaurant reflected the long legacy of Punjabi immigration in California. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, many Punjabi men immigrated as laborers, but were unable to marry white women under state law. Many married Mexican women, introducing a hybrid Mexican-Indian cuisine to the region. Some restaurants in the farming valleys of California during this era served chicken curry and rotis alongside enchiladas. See Collingham, *Curry*, 218-21. On the enduring Punjabi presence in Yuba City and nearby towns, see Thy Tran, "Sharing Food among the Sikh," KQED Radio, *Bay Area Bites*, October 6, 2007, http://www.kqed.org/weblog/food/labels/India.jsp (accessed November 23, 2007).

other ethnic cuisines that featured similarly spicy or hot dishes could reference that cuisine as a way to explain their dishes, or better yet, attract those who craved these elements. As early as 1979, the large Mexican fast food chain, Del Taco, created a marketing campaign titled "Hot stuff" to introduce itself to Dallas, Houston, and Atlanta residents, where it was building new stores. The theme was chosen because spicy or hot food was a "positive expectation" that consumers had when they thought about Mexican food, according to the National Restaurant Association.[234] The American palate had become so accustomed to hot and spicy foods after the 1980s that the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s food editor seemed surprised by his own timidity when he started at his post then. He remarked that many of the Asian recipes that were "far out of the mainstream" in his newspaper during the late 1980s, such as "fiery hot" Sumatran short ribs, seemed "familiar and tamely seasoned" by 2006 standards.[235] By the turn of the century, restaurants that blended cuisines and used spicy sauces and seasonings continued to be desired by consumers and created by restaurateurs.[236] References to other spicy cuisines were commonly used to explain Indian food or make connections across cultures and cuisines for readers of menus, restaurant reviews, or tour guides. One review of an Indian restaurant in the East Bay suburb of Union City began by advising readers, "If you like spicy food, but are tired of the same Mexican and Szechuan restaurants, then head for

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[234] "Promotions are your Lifeblood," *NRA News,* March 1983, 18-19.
[235] Michael Bauer, "The best recipes from two decades of The Chronicle Food section," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 4, 2006. On the trend toward use of Asian and Latin American spices and hotter foods, see also, "Linda Kulman, "Hotter than Ginger Spice," *U.S. News and World Report*, March 22, 1999, http://www.usnews.com/usnews/culture/articles/990322/archive_000552.htm (Accessed January 27, 2005).
[236] Friddle, Mangaraj, and Kinsey, "The Food Service Industry," 45; S. Irene Virbila, "Nobu Matsuhitsa, The Man Who Spiced up Sushi," and Susan Salter Reynolds, "Comfort and the Salsa of Life," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 2006.

Union City for some Indian heat at a small restaurant called Ganesh."[237] In Indian food, you could get sameness – the heat factor, but also difference – Indian instead of Mexican or Chinese food – in one experience. And to please everyone, if "mouth-scalding curries" were scary, the restaurant's owner would "temper" her dishes on request.[238] In 2000, the San Francisco telephone directory listed 16 Indian restaurants as opposed to the three of four it had in the 1960s. The wider Bay Area had many more; 133 Indian restaurants showed up on a Bay Area online directory in 2007.[239]

The new strategies for translation could be seen even in travel advice for London, the leading site for Indian restaurant cuisine. In 2007, an article in the *New York Times* travel section explained an appetizer of papadum with tamarind, lime, and tomato chutneys at one London establishment as "the Indian restaurant's answer to chips and salsa." A description of another restaurant's concept used two other cuisines to explain it, saying, "all dishes are small, something like Indian tapas – though the gorgeous presentation is more reminiscent of sushi." That three cuisines, Tex-Mex, Spanish, and Japanese, were referenced to explain another, Anglo-Indian, was indicative of the way that translation had changed.[240] Readers of the *Times* were sufficiently familiar with these other cuisines that they could be used to describe variations on Indian fare. Though

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[237] Stephen Wright, "Ganesh will Warm You Through and Through," *San Jose Mercury News*, February 1, 1984.
[238] Ibid.
[239] *Pacific Bell Smart Yellow Pages* (San Francisco: Pacific Bell, 2000), 1372-1405. This directory had two restaurant listings. One was simply an alphabetical listing of restaurants. In that listing, I counted 16 Indian restaurants. There could have been more that did not possess either Indian names or landmarks. The second section listed restaurants by cuisine. That section had 13 Indian restaurants for San Francisco; See also "South Asian Restaurants in San Francisco Bay Area," at http://www.thimmakka.org/Activities/Restaurants/restaurants.html (accessed April 6, 2007).
[240] Shukman, "Where Indian Cuisine Reaches for the Stars," *New York Times*.

Indian restaurants had multiplied in the past couple decades, they were not present in the profusion that Mexican, Chinese, or even sushi restaurants were, so Americans' expanding cultural knowledge of those and other Asian and Latin American foods could be used to explain ever-more difference.

The Bay Area's Indian population had especially increased in the suburban regions in and around the booming Silicon Valley. Two suburbs in particular, Sunnyvale, just west of San Jose, and Fremont, just north, became home to thousands of Indian immigrants. Those regions were also home to many Vietnamese, Chinese, and Mexican immigrants, and efforts to understand Indian food often made reference to those cuisines.[241] By the year 2000, the Vietnamese population in San Jose was over 8 percent, and almost a quarter of the city's population was Mexican – the two groups together totaled over 300,000 out of the city's 894,343 residents.[242]

Komala Vilas in Sunnyvale was one restaurant for which most Americans required a translation device. Serving vegetarian food from Kerala, the state on the Southwest coast of India, Komala Vilas served neither Mughal foods nor the taste of old Britain, and it had no bar or cocktail list. One food blog explained the various nuances of eating at the restaurant, which served food on banana leaves and featured no menu, instead having waiters serve courses continuously from stainless steel pots and trays as is customary during some celebrations in Kerala. The article used two references to Chinese

[241] 2000 population figures from *The Asian Databook*, 3-23.
[242] U.S. Census Bureau, "San Jose city, California, Census 2000 Demographic Profile Highlights: Selected Population Group: Mexican," and "San Jose City, California, Census 2000 Demographic Profile Highlights: Selected Population Group: Vietnamese," at http://factfinder.census.gov (accessed March 16, 2008).

cuisine to explain the eating experience at the restaurant. One reference explained the continuous service by the waiters, noting, "as with dim sum and hotel brunch buffets, it's all about the pacing."[243] Later, to explain how forks were hard to come by in this restaurant, for most everyone was eating with their hands, "At Komala Vilas, you'll learn to get in touch with your food. Just as you would use chopsticks at a Chinese banquet, do follow your fellow diners at a South Indian restaurant," advising that the right hand is to be used for food.[244] Just as some American diners were not comfortable with chopsticks, so too many were not comfortable eating with their hands. A *San Francisco Chronicle's* review praised the restaurant's food, but also cautioned, "some may find the practice of eating without utensils unappealing."[245] Diners' familiarity with aspects of Chinese cuisine was used to explain the more exotic fare of South Indian.

As demonstrated by this advice, more things Indian may have slowly become familiar to more Americans, but Indian cuisine was by no means an everyday currency, even by the middle of the 1990s. In one comprehensive 1999 survey about ethnic cuisines in America, the National Restaurant Association found that three cuisines were familiar to "nearly everyone" – Chinese, Mexican, and Italian – to which over 97 percent of respondents said they were "aware" of.[246] In contrast, only 74 percent were aware of Indian cuisine, one of the lower groups of cuisines in the survey. The survey also found

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[243] Thy Tran, "South Indian Rice Courses," *KQED Food Blog: Bay Area Bites*, March 4, 2007, at http://www.kqed.org/weblog/food/labels/india.jsp (accessed October 29, 2007); Komala Vilas Restaurant, Sunnyvale, CA, at http://www.komalavilas.com/ (accessed November 3, 2007).
[244] Thy Tran, "South Indian Rice Courses."
[245] Ben Marks, "Dazzling Flavors Shine in Komala Vilas' Humble Setting," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 2, 1999.
[246] The 1999 survey showed a slight increase over the 1995 results, where 95 percent were "aware of" those cuisines. For the 1999 results, see *Ethnic Cuisines II*, 15. For 1995, *Ethnic Cuisines: A Profile*, 9.

that only 33 percent had tried Indian cuisine, and 25 percent ate it often or occasionally, with those consumers most likely to eat it having high incomes and education, and most likely to have tried it at a restaurant.[247] This was an increase from a previous survey in 1983, which found that only 21 percent had tried Indian food.[248] So in the span of sixteen years, the number trying Indian food had increased by around 57 percent, probably because the number of Indian immigrants coming to the United States had expanded too.

The progression of Indian cuisine in America from the 1960s to the present then demonstrates how Americans have found new ways to understand the incredible diversity brought on by globalization. Whereas the very small number of Indian restaurants in the U.S. in the 1960s had to reference British or Mughal Empires of the past to allay the fears of hesitant American diners, restaurants in the 1990s could instead used elements of the new diversity to explain the still unfamiliar Indian cuisine. To understand the wide range of new food choices, Americans used their developing familiarity with a broad range of non-European cuisines to explore still other cuisines. Spicy Mexican food became a way to understand spicy Indian. Eating styles that had just become familiar to Americans, such as dim sum and tapas, were used to describe the then exotic nature of Southern Indian cuisine. Through food, Americans used their new experiences with globalization to explain the incredible choices brought on by that globalization. But even as Indian

[247] *Ethnic Cuisines II*, 19, 117-21. Those who had tried Indian cuisine also tended to live in higher proportion in the West and in large metropolitan areas. This meant people in the Bay Area were more likely to be familiar with Indian cuisine than those in other cities in the Midwest or South, and much more familiar than rural dwellers in those regions.

[248] "A Glowing Year Ahead," *NRA News*, December 1983, 16. Although the survey only included 800 telephone respondents, the data did fit with the overall number of restaurants of each type.

cuisine diversified, it still had a homogenized tinge, for curries and tandoor meats still dominated Indian restaurant fare at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Diversity in Modern America

Through cookbooks, menus, and restaurant reviews we can see how Americans understood the diversity brought on by globalization and mass immigration in the latter decades of the twentieth century. As with any cultural process, most Americans understood increasingly diverse food choices by making connections to their previous experiences. The sameness of food culture in the century's third quarter had created some common signposts for Americans. Latin American and Asian cuisines, for example, could be understood by references to the European colonial past, even in nations for which colonization was just fading. By the 1980s and 1990s though, diversity fueled the understanding of further diversity. As Americans ate more Mexican and Chinese food and in turn became aware of the regional and nuances within each cuisine, they also came to relate to and explore other ethnic cuisines and cultures. It became less of a stretch to eat spicy Indian food when one was schooled in the variations of Mexican cuisine. It was also less difficult to imagine cooking Thai food when one had learned just a few of the intricate techniques of classic French cooking through Julia Child's instruction, whether in print or on television. Americans increased, in some elemental way, their "cultural competence," or facility with foreign cultures, both because they wanted to, and because globalization made them.

Cultural competence had become a common term in the fields of education, health care, and social work in the 1980s and 1990s. It was used to describe how teachers, doctors, nurses, or counselors could, and perhaps should, deal with multicultural client populations. Schools of education, nursing and medicine instituted programs to teach students how to deal with people who were not like themselves. This was a different way of dealing with the diversity brought on by globalization and immigration of the early 1900s. In the early part of the century, social workers and teachers had mostly sought to change their clients and pupils to fit a vision that was closer to their own ideologies and practices. Reformers urged Italian immigrants to Americanize their eating habits, for example, by giving children milk, whitening sauces, and substituting canned for fresh produce.[249] By contrast, the teachers and doctors of the late century were more careful to understand where their populations were coming from, in a literal, and metaphysical sense, and were encouraged to adjust their teaching or treatment methods accordingly.[250]

Most Americans spend a good number of hours getting counsel from nurses and doctors, and even more time in classrooms with teachers. This is why the health professions felt the need to address the issues of globalization as they saw it up close.

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[249] Donna Gabaccia describes the reformers and the immigrants in *We Are What We Eat*, 122-31.

[250] On cultural competency in the medical profession, see for example, American Medical Student Association, "Cultural Competency in Medicine," American Medical Student Association Web site, http://www.amsa.org/programs/gpit/cultural.cfm (accessed December 18, 2007); Nora Lester, "CE Credit: Cultural Competence: A Nursing Dialogue," *The American Journal of Nursing* 98.8 (1998): 26-34; Marcia I. Wells, "Beyond Cultural Competence: A Model for Individual and Institutional Cultural Development," *Journal of Community Health Nursing* 17.4 (2000): 189-99. In education, an early article about cultural competence in the field of English as a Second Language teaching and bilingual education is Christina Bratt Paulson, "Biculturalism: Some Reflections and Speculations," *TESOL Quarterly* 12.4 (1978): 369-80. This journal (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc.) featured many articles about the topic from the 1970s forward.

Americans spend as much time considering, preparing, and consuming food. If all of these activities – getting healthy, learning, and eating – are culturally imbued, then they all involve a certain degree of understanding about our own culture and those of others. This means understanding the commonalities and differences among "American" culture, Texas culture and New York culture. Globalization makes this process and project more complicated, for local culture changes more rapidly during globalizing eras.

Through cookbooks and menus we can see how Americans engaged in the process of understanding American culture, foreign cultures, and everything in-between. They sought some anchors in a rapidly changing world, so they turned to old ways of understanding. This meant using Britain to understand Indian or connecting all Latin American food to the tortillas and beans of Mexico and Central America. Over time, they found new ways to make connections by taking their incipient understanding of some Asian and Latin American cuisines to make connections to others, even if, in the case of Mexico and India, they were cultures separated by half the world.

The nature of culture is always contested, and more so in eras of globalization. Recent globalization has therefore brought about a kink in the understanding of rapidly changing local and national cultures. Globalization could make aspects of any culture available anywhere, at anytime. Americans took advantage of this prospect by seeking out "authentic" aspects of food cultures in their home cities and suburbs. They also searched for authentic foods to get away from the homogenizing effects of globalization. In the next chapter, I turn to the problem of cultural authenticity and food, showing how

Americans wanted diversity and homogeneity at the same time, sometimes in the same foods.

Chapter 4

Searching for Authentic Foods in American Cities and Suburbs

Globalization's two divergent forces of cultural diversification and homogenization came together in the search for authentic foods. This chapter explains how these competing forces played out in San Francisco and its suburbs by examining the way tourists and natives were guided to the restaurants of the region. As a major tourist destination, San Francisco was a place where people thought they could get all of the world's authentic flavors and traditions in a single spot. If the language of authenticity was very place-specific, for it was meant to give roots in a rootless world, how was it possible to get all the world's places in one? Could one really eat authentic Indian, Mexican and Chinese food in the restaurants of one San Francisco city block, meaning local culture was transplanted from one place to the next?

Globalization created this paradox, in which the very definition of local culture was turned every which way. Food was not the only venue for this contest, for this was an age in which tradition and change were hotly contested – fundamentalist religious movements gained new fervor, whether in Islamic or Christian form, in the United States and elsewhere. People also sought traditional music, dress, or symbols, both for comfort and for curiosity. Descendants of Irish immigrants created a vibrant trade in all things Celtic; they listened to Irish songs, bought Irish linens, and took trips back to the homeland. The upheavals of the civil rights movement caused some Southerners to celebrate the traditions of the old South by raising Confederate flags and touring Civil

War battlefields. In the process, Southerners argued that they were simply preserving heritage, not fomenting hate, though that claim was often weak. The search for tradition was as much a battle over place and region as it was about ideals; people on each side of the contest asked whose tradition was most important, and where each tradition should rule.[1]

People searched for authenticity in food because eating is elemental, foods were one of the most traded goods across regions, and because globalization and its subset, immigration, created a rootless or disoriented sense for many. Globalization also created dissatisfaction with the ongoing homogenization of culture, as Americans found themselves eating McDonald's hamburgers in pre-fabricated houses in cookie cutter developments that looked and felt the same, whether in suburban Atlanta or suburban Seattle. The search for the authentic or "real" eating experience was an escape from both diversity and homogeneity.

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[1] There are many studies of the religious movements after World War II and the related fundamentalist tradition-seekers. In the United States, the movement took shape in political and social battlegrounds as the conservative movement and Republican Party together experienced a resurgence. Surveys that cover these developments include Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996); Patterson, *Restless Giant*. On Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East and elsewhere, there is also a vast literature. See for example, Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York: Knopf, 2006), which is more far-ranging than its title suggests; Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld*. On the search for tradition by Irish Americans, see Halter, *Shopping for Identity*, 161-69; Jacobson, *Roots Too*. On the resurgence of Southern tradition, see Schulman, *The Seventies*, 102-17. The Dixiecrats were the political party that capitalized on the search for tradition in the South between the 1930s and 1960s. See Kari Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001). There are still some who yearn for the "glory" of the old South. See Heidi Beirich and Mark Potok, "Little Men," *Southern Poverty Law Center: Intelligence Report*, Winter 2004 at http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=509 (accessed March 17, 2008). On the relationship between region and tradition, see the essays by Lothar Hönnighausen, "Introduction: Concepts of Regionalism," and Steven Hoelscher, "Memory, Heritage, and Tradition in the Construction of Regional Identity: A View from Geography," in Lothar Hönnighausen, Marc Frey, James Peacock, and Niklaus Steiner, eds., *Regionalism in the Age of Globalism,* Volume I: Concepts of Regionalism (Center for the Study of Upper Midwestern Cultures, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2005).

If the world was getting smaller, could local culture still exist? One answer is that even as people became more culturally connected, local cultures and regional distinctiveness still existed. *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman has argued that the world is "flat," for globalization has made it easier to traverse and conceptualize. In a flat world, people in Shanghai can see straight to New York or Mexico City without obstruction. Friedman contends that local cultures and ideas have become globalized in recent years by pointing to the most widely eaten food in the world – the pizza. At basic, pizza is a *flat* bread that takes on various forms and toppings depending on locale. Many have argued that the very fact that people around the world eat pizza is evidence the world is homogenizing. Friedman counters this view by saying that the existence of many local versions of pizza indicates that globalization has the "greater potential to nourish diversity" than to homogenize along an American paradigm.[2]

Friedman cites two other commentators on globalization to make this argument. One, Indrajit Banerjee, an Indian-born executive based in Singapore, used the phrase "globalization of the local" as a way to show that people in all parts of the world crave local media from their place of origin.[3] Syrian expatriates in Detroit subscribe to Arab-language television via satellite, just as American expatriates in India pay for English-language broadcasts from New York. Kwame Appiah, a Ghana-born professor at

[2] Thomas Friedman, *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Picador, 2007), 478. Friedman was not the first to argue that recent globalization made the world flat, but he was quite influential as a columnist and best-selling author. Theodore Levitt, a Harvard Business School professor, presented a very similar view about the world's flatness in the 1980s, noting, "The earth is round, but for most purposes it's sensible to treat it as flat. Space is curved, but not much for everyday life here on earth," in "The Globalization of Markets," *Harvard Business Review* 61.3 (1983): 92-102, quote on 101. Levitt, however, argued that cultural homogenization was the order of globalization, whereas Friedman contends that diversity still flourishes in a globalizing world.

[3] Friedman, *The World is Flat*, 479-81.

Princeton, also argues that globalization is a "threat to homogeneity."[4] Finally, Friedman, using Appiah's charge, says people on the ground, whether in Ghana or New York "give-and-take, adopt, adapt, import, re-export, and innovate" culture.[5] If people crave the local culture of their origin, including foods, but they also continually change those foods, then what are they searching for in the authentic?

One thing they sought was a sense of local experiences. It was both disorienting and exhilarating to have local foods, music, or clothing available anywhere. With globalization it became possible to get the authentic local experience in a place far different than the original locale. Many people argued, for example, that San Francisco was among the best places outside China to get authentic Chinese food. Herb Caen, the *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist and most famous chronicler of the city, called San Francisco's Chinatown the "city's most fascinating and authentic foreign colony."[6] Its Chinatown was regularly called the largest settlement of Asians outside Asia.[7] One guide advertised a "very San Francisco experience," at Yank Sing, the most famous and longest standing dim sum restaurant in San Francisco.[8] Another guide ensured that the uninitiated

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[4] Quoted in Friedman, *The World is Flat*, 484.
[5] Friedman, *The World is Flat*, 484.
[6] Herb Caen, *Herb Caen's Guide to San Francisco* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1957), 50.
[7] The actual phrase was "largest Oriental settlement outside Asia." Pamphlet, San Francisco Convention and Visitors Bureau, "Chinatown," 1959, OAK, VF, San Francisco County – 1951-(I). Herb Caen corrected this assertion, saying that it was really a fiction promoted by the Chamber of Commerce, for Singapore was home to the largest Chinese settlement outside China. Caen, *Herb Caen's Guide to San Francisco*, 50. The claim that San Francisco was first is also made in James Lewis, *James Lewis' Doorway to Good Living* (Lewis Publicity Service: Beverly Hills, CA, 1950), OAK, VF – California Guide Books (I). Even earlier, one travel brochure, under its "Cosmopolitan" section called San Francisco's Chinatown the "the most fascinating foreign quarter in America." *California: Where Life is Better* (San Francisco: Californians, Inc., 1923), OAK, VF, California Guidebooks (II). At the time, Chinese immigrants in the United States were perceived as being permanently foreign.
[8] Michael Lester, "Guide in Brief," in Jon Carroll and Tracy Johnston, eds., *Northern California* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1984), 329.

would especially be attracted to Yank Sing, for if you were a "dim sum virgin," you were advised to "lose it" there.[9] Americans need not be initiated into the authentic dim sum experience in Hong Kong, for they could get the same experience much closer – in San Francisco. Eating Chinese food in San Francisco was very San Francisco and very Chinese, all at the same time. During this period, Americans were moving in great numbers to the suburbs, and eventually, they sought authentic foods there too. Chinese food was an especially good lens onto the search for authentic culture in the suburbs, for it both diversified and homogenized in its suburban context, reflecting the contradictions of globalization. It went from homogenized chop suey to differentiated dim sum to homogenized Panda Express orange chicken, all in the span of four decades, and all in a suburban context.

The Currency of Authenticity in Modern American Life

San Francisco was advertised as a place to get the world's authentic foods, but the language of authenticity was not confined to food talk. "Authentic" can be defined as having original authority, being real or genuine, or being tied to tradition. These are among the most common definitions, but the word is fundamentally a "social construction," so it is always changing.[10] The valuable currency of authenticity could be found in many arenas besides eating in the last few decades, including two that are not as

[9] Quote from *Zagat Survey, 2004, San Francisco Bay Area Restaurants*, as listed in "Reviews," Yank Sing Web site, at http://www.yanksing.com/about-us/reviews/zagat-04.html (accessed January 22, 2008).
[10] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Authentic"; Quote from Josée Johnston and Shyon Baumann, "Democracy versus Distinction: A Study of Omnivorousness in Gourmet Food Writing," *American Journal of Sociology* 113.1 (2007): 179.

far apart as one might hope – politics and plastic surgery. Michelle Obama, the wife of 2008 presidential candidate Barack Obama, explained that she had long harbored reservations about her husband entering the presidential race, for she was "cynical and reluctant about politics."[11] Nevertheless, she and her husband decided to enter the fray and pledged that they were "going to do this authentically."[12] She hoped that voters would respond positively if "you offer somebody up that is real and true," such as her husband.[13] Of course, this was political posturing as much as anything, but she used the term "authentic" in opposition to the fake politicians that she and her husband believed he was running against.[14] His main opponent was Hillary Clinton, whose husband Bill had run his own race just a few election cycles prior. In the 1992 presidential campaign, Clinton told voters that he was a better choice than the more experienced George H.W. Bush because his experience was "rooted in the real lives of real people."[15] Deciding who was more real was quite a choice for a voter if she based her decision only on what the candidates whether they were named Obama, Clinton, or Bush, said about themselves and their opponents.[16]

This tension over "keeping it real" in politics was an offshoot of a broader focus on authenticity in American culture and a battle between the simultaneous forces of

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[11] Michele Norris, "Michelle Obama Sees Election as Test for America," *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio, July 11, 2007, at http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=11831859 (accessed July 11, 2007).
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Bill Clinton, quoted in Nicholas D. Kristof, "Hillary, Barack, Experience," *New York Times*, January 20, 2008.
[16] The pull of authenticity in politics can be seen in the New Left Movement of the 1960s. See Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

sameness and distinctiveness. The battle extended to the most personal realm, in the form of uneasiness over plastic surgery. As was the case for other services once reserved for the rich, plastic surgery became much more common in the United States over the last couple decades of the twentieth century.[17] For many, it was a way to erase their distinctive features – the scar or birthmark in the wrong place, the large nose or rump, or the breasts that were not as robust as those on the movie star of the moment. It was a way to look like everyone else, or at least like everyone on television. For this purpose, the number of cosmetic procedures requiring invasive surgery rose dramatically from 413,208 in 1992, when the American Society of Plastic Surgeons began keeping track, to 1,852,012 in 2006. By that year, doctors also performed 9 million minimally-invasive procedures, such as Botox injections and chemical peels, that were perhaps more representative of the middle class's ability to access cosmetic surgery.[18] These procedures created something of a "standardized" look that one actress lamented made her feel like a "sheep" for feeling pressure to have anti-aging surgery on her face.[19] The procedure made her look like "a new house where all the corners meet."[20] Another woman who had reconstructive nose surgery became terribly dissatisfied with her inauthentic face.

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[17] On the democratization of luxury goods, see Carter Turrell, "Luxury for the Masses," *Forbes*, July 13, 2004; James B. Twitchell, "Needing the Unnecessary: The Democratization of Luxury," *Reason*, August/September 2002.

[18] 1992 figures from American Society of Plastic Surgeons, "1992 Total Cosmetic Procedures by Region," http://www.plasticsurgery.org/media/statistics/loader.cfm?url=/commonspot/security/getfile.cfm&PageID=1663 (accessed January 21, 2008); 2006 data from American Society of Plastic Surgeons, "2006 Regional Distribution: Cosmetic Procedures," http://www.plasticsurgery.org/media/statistics/loader.cfm?url=/commonspot/security/getfile.cfm&PageID=23771 (accessed January 21, 2008). In 2006, the top five invasive surgical procedures were breast augmentation, nose reshaping, liposuction, eyelid surgery, and tummy tuck.

[19] Annabelle Gurwitch, quoted in Kirsten Scharnberg, "After Plastic Surgeries, More do an About-Face," *Chicago Tribune*, January 21, 2008

[20] Ibid.

Eventually she had a second surgery to restore her nose to its original shape. Such reversals were so common that some plastic surgeons devoted a significant portion of their practice to them, calling them "undo-plasties."[21] The woman's reversal of her nose surgery was a reaction to "cookie-cutter" surgeries in which "everyone kind of ends up looking the same," according to Andrew Jacono, a plastic surgeon in Manhasset, New York.[22] Commenting on these reversal surgeries, one psychotherapist argued that there is a "human hunger to be our most authentic self."[23] This may be true, but what of the millions each year who had the surgeries and never reversed them? Or the millions more who never had plastic surgery at all?

Because authenticity was important to many Americans, they sought advice about where and how to get the most authentic experience. As authenticity became a cultural currency, the advice business boomed as well. Businesses emerged to give people advice about all sorts of issues – their homes, their finances, their children's education, and, the food they ate.

Consumers Seek Advice about Everything

After the 1960s, Americans increasingly sought advice about what to eat and where to eat it. Restaurant reviews and food articles in newspapers, magazines, guidebooks, and Web sites expanded dramatically. Craig Claiborne, the longtime food editor and restaurant reviewer for the New York Times, was among those most

[21] Scharnberg, "After Plastic Surgeries."
[22] Jacono was chief of facial and reconstructive plastic surgery at North Shore University Hospital in Manhasset, NY, quoted in Scharnberg, "After Plastic Surgeries," *Chicago Tribune*, January 21, 2008.
[23] Kathy Kater, a St. Paul, MN psychotherapist, quoted in Scharnberg, "After Plastic Surgeries."

responsible for the surging interest in all things food after the 1960s. Before Claiborne got into the business of reviewing restaurants, many readers took newspaper reviews with a grain of salt because the reviewers took free meals for their services. Claiborne eschewed this practice and was the first to use a star system to make reviews of different restaurants comparable. Furthermore, Claiborne helped bring the food pages out of the netherworld of the newspaper industry. On Claiborne's watch the *New York Times* first published a separate weekly food section within its "Living" pages every week. Readers such as Jeffrey Steingarten, who would go on to become the food critic for *Vogue*, cooked out of these sections enthusiastically. The recipes that Claiborne published in this section were so successful that the *New York Times Cookbook*, a collection of them, eventually sold over a million copies.[24] He also marshaled many cookbook authors, television chefs, and restaurant owners to fame by writing about them in the *Times*. These included Madhur Jaffrey, Marcella Hazan, Julia Child, and his longtime collaborator Pierre Franey. Jaffrey remarked that he was "among the first people to think about food in a global kind of way."[25] This was most evident in Claiborne's collaboration with Virginia Lee in *The Chinese Cookbook*, one of the most important cookbooks on Chinese food published in the United States. Following the *New York Times'* lead, other newspapers created separate food sections. The *San Francisco Chronicle* started its own stand-alone food section in 1986 with five staff members. Twenty years later, the paper

[24] Alison Arnett and Sheryl Julian, "Craig Claiborne, 1921-2000: He Changes How We Think About Food," *Boston Globe*, January 26, 2000; Bryan Miller, "Craig Claiborne, 79, Times Food Editor and Critic, Is Dead," *New York Times*, January 24, 2000; "The Times Will Publish a New 'Living Section' in Its Wednesday Issues," *New York Times*, October 7, 1976; The *New York Times* ran an advertisement for its new Living section, "Remember When Living Was Fun," *New York Times,* October 10, 1976.
[25] Quote from Jaffrey in Arnett and Julian, "Craig Claiborne," *Boston Globe*.

had seventeen food staffers, a separate building to house its test kitchen and wine cellar, and a weekly wine section.[26]

The search for the authentic tamale or sushi as described in the food section of the local newspaper was partly a product of the emerging "foodie" culture after the 1960s. As daily newspapers created separate food sections, readership for magazines such as *Gourmet*, *Bon Appétit*, and *Holiday* expanded.[27] Correspondingly, food and travel guides sold widely as cheap air travel introduced people to far-away regions and their food cultures.[28] Even if one accounts for population growth, the number of flights that travelers took from the United States to foreign destinations increased by 625 percent between 1960 and 2000.[29] This was partly because the cost of air travel from the United States dropped dramatically after airline deregulation in 1978. Between that year and 2006, the average ticket price fell in half.[30] Knopf's cookbook editor, Judith Jones,

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[26] Michael Bauer, "The best recipes from two decades of The Chronicle Food section," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 4, 2006; Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*, 215.

[27] *Bon Appétit*'s circulation grew, for example, from 240,000 to 1.3 million between 1977 and 1982. Pages of advertising grew from 349 to 1,040 in the same period. Lawrence D. Maloney and Jeanne Thornton, "America's Food Craze" *San Jose Mercury News*, February 3, 1982.

[28] Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*, 215.

[29] This figure accounts for the increase in travel between the U.S. and foreign destinations and the increase of the U.S. population. The number of trips from the United States to foreign destinations increased from 4.88 million to 55.5 million from 1960 to 2000, or 1037 percent. The U.S. population increased from 179,323,175 in 1960 to 281,421,906 in 2000. This meant the average American took .0272 international plane trips in 1960. In 2000, the number was .1972 international plane trips per person. From 1960 to 2000, that is a 625 percent increase. The number of individual travelers making international trips is probably lower, because these figures do not reflect the small number of people who may travel several times a year internationally, especially for business travel. Air transport figures from Air Transport Association, *Facts and Figures about Air Transportation, 1961* (Washington DC: Air Transport Association, 1961) http://www.airlines.org/NR/rdonlyres/7542EB00-F317-4682-B8A4-D6F5FA6DFA96/0/1961AnnualReport.pdf (accessed January 12, 2008), 30; Air Transport Association, *Air Transport Association 2001 Annual Report* http://www.airlines.org/NR/rdonlyres/D4CC91C5-95A2-4D98-A9DF-C1A1CE7FE44A/0/2001AnnualReport.pdf (accessed January 12, 2008), 6. Population figures from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2001* (Washington DC: Census Bureau, 2001), 8.

[30] This is an inflation-adjusted figure. "Passenger Yield" figures for U.S. Airlines in *Balancing: Air Transport Association: 2007 Economic Report*, http://www.airlines.org/NR/rdonlyres/0E9E7072-ECC6-

believed this change was fundamental to the expanded interest in ethnic cuisines in the United States. "I think a lot changed in the 1960s," she said, adding that, "our GIs had been abroad [in World War II] and then air travel was cheap and every secretary could afford to go abroad and was excited about it."[31]

As middle class Americans traveled to India and Italy and ate those cuisines in restaurants in their home cities and suburbs, writers realized there was a growing demand for advice about foreign cultural goods. They sold guidebooks and magazines that steered readers to the best, and most authentic restaurants, neighborhoods, or museums. The Zagat Guides were among the best known of these, responsible for advising millions of Americans about restaurants in major American cities. Beginning in 1979, Nina and Tim Zagat asked their friends to rate restaurants in their hometown, New York City. Eventually, their guides grew into a multi-million dollar business, in which over 250,000 people reviewed restaurants, movies, music, nightclubs, golf courses, hotels and resorts.[32] Tim Zagat remembered the changes in the restaurant advice business, noting that in the beginning, reviews showed that "Chinese food was chow mein and chop suey, Italian was anything with red sauce, there was one kind of lettuce, and one kind of mushroom, and raw fish was a fraternity prank."[33] Over time, guidebooks such as the *Zagat Survey*

4CED-8B8E-6857256935E7/0/2007AnnualReport.pdf (accessed January 12, 2008), 10, 12. The report stated that "domestic airfares have grown just 53 percent in unadjusted terms since 1978, while the price of milk has risen 124 percent, new vehicles 340 percent, single family homes 343 percent and public college tuition 748 percent," 12.

[31] Judith Jones, interview with the author.

[32] *Zagat Survey 2005: San Francisco Bay Area Restaurants* (New York: Zagat Survey, 2004), 5.

[33] Megan Barnett, "Grabbing a Bite," *U.S. News and World Report, Executive Edition*, March 5, 2004, http://www.usnews.com/usnews/biztech/articles/040315/15eesuite.lunch.htm (accessed January 27, 2007).

directed readers to many spots that served something other than chow mein and chop suey.

The booming advice business was not confined to cultural goods. More broadly, it reflected a changing consumer economy in which advice was offered to the masses. The investment advice business may have been the most important and lucrative of the lot, and it expanded greatly after the 1980s. As corporate-funded pensions drifted by the wayside in the 1980s and 1990s, workers were forced to save for retirement on their own in IRAs and 401(k) plans. In 1980, just over 60 percent of private sector workers had retirement income in a company-funded pension. By 2004, that number had declined to only 10 percent.[34] Many of those companies had stopped funding pensions under the strain of global competition. The most demonstrative of the changes in global markets occurred in the steel and auto industries that had driven the U.S. economy in the 1950s and 1960s. As American firms faced competition from Japanese, Korean, and Chinese firms, they had to scale back benefits for workers, including pensions and health insurance.[35]

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[34] Center for Retirement Research at Boston College, "Private Sector Workers with Pension Coverage, By Pension Type, 1980, 1992, and 2004," http://crr.bc.edu/frequently_requested_data/frequently_requested_data.html (accessed January 4, 2008).

[35] On the broad changes to global markets during this time, see Levitt, "The Globalization of Markets," 92-102. On the general competition in manufacturing and heavy industries and the changes to the workforce, especially unions, see Barnet and Cavanagh, *Global Dreams*, 310-38. General Motors was one American company hit hard by competition over a long number of years. The latest development was Toyota trumping G.M. as the world's largest automaker, but G.M. responded with new efforts to build and sell vehicles in China. See Keith Bradsher, "G.M. Sees China, and the Chinese, in a Chevrolet," *New York Times*, January 11, 2007. On the health care benefit issue for G.M. over two decades, see James Barron, "General Motors Proposes Changes in its Health Care Program," *New York Times*, August 16, 1984; Danny Hakim, "G.M. and Union in Deal to Cut Health Benefits," *New York Times,* October 18, 2005. The signature commentary on G.M.'s decline was the 1989 film by Michael Moore, *Roger & Me* (DVD) (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2003).

As their employers stopped funding their retirement, private sector workers realized they had to do it themselves, but they needed help. The number who funded their own 401(k) plans increased from 17 percent to 61 percent over the 1980 to 2004 period to fill the void created by their employers.[36] Investment banks that had previously served only the rich realized that they could profit by offering investment advice to the masses too. Morgan Stanley had once offered advice to just wealthy clients at "elegant lunches in its opulent dining rooms" in Manhattan.[37] By the 1990s, however, the individual investor was no longer "sneered at" by the "blue blood" investment houses.[38] During that decade Morgan Stanley merged with Dean Witter to combat the discount brokerage houses such as Schwab that had taken hold in the last couple decades. Schwab and others were built on the model that they could profit by selling advice to millions of investors with modest incomes as opposed to a few thousand rich folks. Those millions of investors needed that advice because they were engaged in financial markets that contained thousands of stocks, bonds, and mutual funds. Their investment choices expanded too as markets globalized. Over time, foreign firms listed on American exchanges in large numbers to gain access to capital. Investing in an Indian fiber-optics company required a bit of information, however, for the Des Moines investor who had never been to India and was only vaguely familiar with the intricacies of fiber optics. For a price, the Schwabs and

[36] Center for Retirement Research at Boston College, "Private Sector Workers with Pension Coverage."
[37] Michael Blumstein, "Morgan Stanley Fights for No. 1," *New York Times*, April 1, 1984.
[38] Floyd Norris, "A Deal Reaffirms the Strength of the Individual Investor," *New York Times*, February 6, 1997.

Morgan Stanleys of the world gave advice about the wide range of investments to millions of Americans, whether they lived in Des Moines or Duluth.[39]

In the food realm, the expanding choices at supermarkets and restaurants meant magazines, newspapers, and guidebooks filled the same niche as the financial services companies. Financial companies actively sold their products to gain ever larger shares of the market and to create new "products" that investors would find hard to live without over time. The food companies chronicled in the magazines and newspapers did the same. As newspapers began running regular, stand-alone food sections, purveyors of specialty foods, appliances, and cooking utensils found an expanding market for their wares. Williams-Sonoma was one such company, founded by Charles Williams in 1954 as a small cookware store in Sonoma, California. Just as supermarket chains grew larger even as they offered a greater range of products, Williams-Sonoma grew by offering an unusual variety of cookware to customers. As it expanded to a national company, it also created a certain sameness of consumption, for it was easy to find a branch in most American cities.

Williams' success began in 1958 when he relocated his store to downtown San Francisco, where wealthy housewives could drop in after hairdressing appointments in Union Square.[40] The company became well known in gourmet circles by the 1970s.[41] In

[39] Leslie Wayne, "Discounters Storm Wall Street," *New York Times,* December 26, 1982; Norris, "A Deal Reaffirms," *New York Times*, February 6, 1997.
[40] Chuck Williams and Howard Lester, *Volume II, Williams-Sonoma: Mastering the Homeware: 1994-2004*, an oral history conducted in 2004 by Victor W. Geraci (Regional Oral History Office, BANC, 2005) http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/roho/ucb/text/ChuckWilliamsBook.pdf (accessed February 1, 2008), 13-14.

the 1980s and 1990s it expanded much further, going public in 1983 and opening a large distribution center in Memphis to serve its growing national base.[42] Many of the tools offered by Williams-Sonoma were those associated with ethnic cuisines, such as soufflé pans, woks, and tortilla presses. The company made it possible for the white, middle-class, city or suburb dweller to get authentic cooking appliances or ingredients without trucking into "authentic" Chinese or Mexican neighborhoods.[43] If one could buy a wok at Williams-Sonoma's in San Francisco's Union Square or Chicago's Michigan Avenue, or even better, in a suburban strip mall, then one would not have to make a trip to a small store filled with mostly Chinese customers in the local Chinatown. Williams was also concerned with finding tools that made foods the "old-fashioned way." One such device was a pasta roller that he promoted as giving better texture to pastas.[44] His company made a market in the United States for these authentic foods that had not been widely consumed by Americans before, such as crystallized ginger.[45] Williams-Sonoma, a San Francisco company, was one of the many businesses that helped make the authentic available anywhere. But why were Americans searching for authentic foods? One reason

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[41] Judith Jones told French cookbook author Simone Beck that "a good little store like Williams-Sonoma will always carry *Simca's Cuisine* but not so the big bookstore chains like B. Dalton and Walden's, which seem to be running the country these days." Judith Jones to Simone Beck, April 5, 1979, JJMC, Box 847.9. Also see Elisabeth Ortiz to Sally Berkeley (Judith Jones' assistant), August 14, 1978, JJMC, Box 854.2, where Ortiz advises that William-Sonoma carried tortilla presses and advertised cookbooks next to "relevant equipment."

[42] Williams-Sonoma, Inc., "Corporate Timeline" and "Williams-Sonoma, Inc. – Company Overview," http://www.williams-sonomainc.com (accessed January 4, 2008).

[43] Charles E. Williams, *Williams-Sonoma Cookware and the American Kitchen: The Merchandising Vision of Chuck Williams, 1956-1994*, an oral history conducted 1992-1994 by Lisa Jacobson and Ruth Teiser (Regional Oral History Office, BANC, 1995) http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/roho/ucb/text/williams_chuck_vol_1.pdf (accessed February 1, 2008), 89-91. Williams mentions selling woks as well as promoting Italian cuisine at his stores.

[44] Williams, *Williams-Sonoma Cookware and the American Kitchen*, 129.

[45] Ibid, 180.

was that globalization and immigration had created a rootless feeling for many, whether immigrant or native-born.

Feeling Rootless in a Globalizing World

The words are everywhere in the immigration literature. Memory, displacement, and tradition reflect one set of emotions. Excitement, adventure, and change reflect another set. These words speak to migration's effects on the mental, physical, economic, cultural, political, and religious identities of the migrants and the natives. The literature is vast too. Novelists, playwrights, filmmakers, and scholars write about the manner in which migration affects the soul. A good deal of the literature has to do with the sense of becoming rootless – a loss of place in a migratory world. The rootless feeling is attenuated for some by the excitement of new experiences. The internal struggle for many immigrants often becomes one of debating whether the "from whence I came" is more important than the "to where I've gone."[46]

Literature written by immigrants and travelers abounds with stories of loss and rootlessness, and many focus on food. Leaving is also losing, for the sense of place once known becomes lost over time. To mitigate their losses, many immigrants look back to where they came from. Because food is often transferable from place to place, especially

[46] There are thousands of examples of these stories, but some of the more prominent in recent years are Richard Rodriguez, *The Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez, an Autobiography* (New York: Bantam, 1982); Jhumpa Lahiri, *The Namesake* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003); V.S. Naipaul, *A House for Mr. Biswas* (London: A. Deutsch, 1961); Andre Dubus III, *House of Sand and Fog* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1999); Amy Tan, *The Joy Luck Club* (New York: Putnam's, 1989). The stories of Edward Said and Bharati Mukherjee are in André Aciman, ed., *Letters of Transit: Reflections on Exile, Identity, Language, and Loss* (New York: The New Press, 1999). The "Postcolonial Studies at Emory Web site" created by the English Department at Emory University contains biographies of dozens of writers on these topics at http://www.english.emory.edu/Bahri/index.html (accessed February 12, 2008).

with accelerated global trade, immigrants can replicate their home lives in their new land. One Mexican immigrant to the United States explained in the 1920s that her family ate "Mexican style" because they could not "accustom" themselves to "any other kind of food." She and her husband dreamed of going back to "beloved Mexico," but were tied to work in the United States.[47] More recently, another set of immigrants from the Indian state of Bengal negotiated the "siren song of modernity and the nostalgia of tradition" as they adapted the foods they ate in America.[48] And from their first arrival to the United States, Chinese immigrants set to growing the fruits and vegetables they were accustomed to in China. In California and Florida they created a thriving ethnic economy that supplied other Chinese immigrants and the wider public in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York.[49]

The yearning for native foods was an attempt to recapture a sense of place in a rapidly changing world. For this reason, recent globalization has caused many people to associate the authentic with the local or the regional. A "Slow Food" movement emerged in the 1980s in Italy based on concerns about the way people ate in an age dominated by fast food. They believed that fast food was "standardizing taste."[50] One of the group's

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[47] Juana de Hidalgo, quoted in Manuel Gamio, *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), 162-63. Hidalgo was a pseudonym for the real interviewee. Several other immigrants that Gamio interviewed in 1926 and 1927 spoke of the foods they liked, whether they were Mexican, American, or a hybrid, and their reasons for favoring one or another.

[48] Krishnendu Ray, *The Migrant's Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-American Households* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 72.

[49] Leung and Waters, "Chinese Vegetable Farming," in *Origins and Destinations*, 437-52; Valerie Imbruce, "From the Bottom Up: The Global Expansion of Chinese Vegetable Trade for New York City Markets," in Richard Wilk, ed., *Fast Food/Slow Food: The Cultural Economy of the Global Food System* (Berkeley: Altamira, 2006), 163-79.

[50] "History," Slow Food USA Web site, http://www.slowfoodusa.org/about/index.html#3 (accessed February 2, 2008). Carlo Petrini founded the Slow Food movement in 1986 as a response to the opening of

goals was to return eating to its local or traditional roots. Its "manifesto" asked people to "rediscover the flavors and savors of regional cooking and banish the degrading effects of fast food."[51] This movement spread to other countries in various forms. Much like the United States, Australia has been shaped by mass immigration. One claim for local foods came from the Australian food restaurateur turned academic, Michael Symons, who said that Australian regions should "respect" their climates, and in turn would create "not one Australian cuisine, but many, providing the tourist with a definite sense of place."[52] This was in response to claims that Australia was a leader in "'East-meets-West,' 'fusion' 'Mediterrasian' or 'Pac-Rim' style" foods. He asserted that this all amounted to Australian cuisine really being a global cuisine, "which leads to increased sameness, tending to take the heart out of gourmet travel," for you could find the same cuisine in any cosmopolitan city in any country.[53] He argued that hybridization like this was harmful to the Australian tourist industry, for "gastronomic tourism would become redundant once meals were the same the world over."[54] If you could get global cuisine anywhere, why visit Australia? As a solution to this problem, Symons posited that "authentic meals have to be true to place," for authenticity is based on a harmony with

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a McDonald's in the historic Piazza Spagna in Rome that year. See "Carlo Petrini," Slow Food USA Web site, http://www.slowfoodusa.org/about/carlo_petrini.html (accessed February 2, 2008).

[51] "The Slow Food Manifesto," at Slow Food Silicon Valley Convivium Web site, http://www.slowfoodsv.com/pages/about/index.php (accessed January 25, 2008).

[52] Michael Symons, "Gastronomic Authenticity and Sense of Place," *Tourism & Hospitality: Delighting the Senses 1999, Part 2, Proceedings of the Ninth Australian Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference*, (Canberra: Bureau of Tourism Research, 1999), 333.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid, 337.

the people, the land, the surroundings, not just a meal produced on a plate.[55] Australian chefs, said Symons, should cook local foods rather than the global cuisine.[56]

In Silicon Valley, the Slow Food Movement's chapter featured reviews of several restaurants on its Web site, though few served food that was specific to the Bay Area. One served "authentic country food from Southern Mexico," and made you feel as if you were in "Oaxaca, Puebla or Chiapas," though it also featured non-regional fare, or as the review said, "typical Mexican items – burritos, enchiladas, tamales."[57] Another review of a Sicilian restaurant in Morgan Hill, a town south of San Jose, said the menu made one "pause and wonder where you are. Live lobster in Morgan Hill?"[58] The world reach of many cuisines had long been so commonplace that the foods of Southern Mexico, Sicily, and the Atlantic seaboard were the norm in California restaurants.

As with the reviewer's description of Mexican regions, Americans had become more attuned to regional variations among cultural goods, including foods, since the 1960s. One reason was the increasing search for authentic culture. Another was the reappraisal of the nation-state at the end of the Cold War, which caused people around the world to reclaim their ethnic, religious, and tribal identities.[59] Italian food, like other cuisines, underwent a "significant shift between the late 1960s and early 1970s" in the

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[55] Ibid.
[56] These themes are echoed in Michael Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A Gastronomic History of Australia,* 2nd ed. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007).
[57] Review of Estrellita Restaurant, Los Altos, CA, at "Member Reviews," at Slow Food Silicon Valley Convivium Web site at http://www.slowfoodsv.com/pages/reviews/index.php (accessed January 25, 2008).
[58] Molly Fleming, review of Sicilia in Bocca restaurant, Morgan Hill, CA, at "Member Reviews," Slow Food Silicon Valley Convivium Web site at http://www.slowfoodsv.com/pages/reviews/index.php (accessed January 25, 2008).
[59] See Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2000,* 9th Ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 344-409.

United States, said one scholar, as the regions and sub-regions from whence they came became more widely known by Americans.[60] After the 1960s, American eaters sought authenticity in Italian food, and food purveyors and commentators "actively engaged in the production of difference."[61] The search for authenticity in food required great investment, for one had to learn a great deal to know if one was truly eating authentically. Over time, Americans began to eat not just pizza and spaghetti, but sought out Italian food as eaten in Italy. They were learning anew about Italian culture, investing effort to distinguish among Tuscan, Neapolitan, or Sicilian cuisines.[62] This was in contrast to the nationalizing and homogenizing process that had shaped Italian cuisine early in the twentieth century. When "Italians" arrived from Europe in the late 1800s, many felt no strong allegiance to the nation, for their primary tie was to their villages, towns, or regions. They became Italian in America, sharing spaghetti and meatball plates. In time, they also shared a national Italian culture with their American cohorts. From roughly the late 1800s to the 1910s, Italian Americans were tied to regions such as Sicily or Calabria. From the 1910s to the 1960s, they were tied as firmly to the nation of Italy.[63] After the 1960s, many Italian Americans sought out their regions of origin again.

This was due to broader changes in American racial and ethnic relations. After the 1960s, the upheavals of the civil rights movements meant many Americans, whether from Italy, Ireland, or Ghana, sought out their roots. This was seen most literally and vividly in

[60] Cinotto, "'Now That's Italian!,'" 4.
[61] Ibid, 5.
[62] Ibid, 1-21.
[63] Diner, *Hungering for America*; Donna R. Gabaccia, "Is Everywhere Nowhere? Nomads, Nations, and the Immigrant Paradigm of United States History," *The Journal of American History* 86.3 The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History (1999): 1121.

Roots, the 1977 television mini-series about the slave origins of blacks in America. It was one of the most watched programs in television history.[64] Whites looked back too, for many felt displaced by the rights finally accorded to minority groups. Some historians have described this as an Ellis Island complex, in which most white Americans claimed they had humble but noble ancestors who had passed through the island. Those ancestors were supposedly able to pull themselves up by their bootstraps into middle or upper class respectability. Often, the implication of these claims, said or unsaid, was that the blacks, Mexican Americans or Asian Americans demanding rights should pull themselves up too, even if they had humble roots.[65]

Correspondingly, some Americans longed for tradition, and one of the many ways they searched for it was through religion. Some even searched for tradition in unfamiliar places. In the 1980s and 1990s, one group of previously secular women converted to Orthodox Judaism, one of the oldest religious traditions, for this purpose. For these women, the firmness and roots of the Orthodox faith presented an escape from the dizzying array of choices and problems in modern life.[66] More broadly, Christian evangelicalism rose during this period too. This was consistent with an overall rise in conservatism in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. The reaction to the civil rights movement, including the rise of religious conservatism, caused a search for

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[64] About 85 percent of all homes watched at least one of the seven episodes of the *Roots* series when it aired in January 1977. J.B. Bird, "Roots," The Museum of Broadcast Communications Web site, http://www.museum.tv/archives/etv/R/htmlR/roots/roots.htm (accessed February 12, 2008).
[65] The most comprehensive treatment of the roots movement is Jacobson, *Roots Too*; Marilyn Halter looks at food and tradition-seeking in *Shopping for Identity*.
[66] Lynn Davidman, *Tradition in a Rootless World: Women Turn to Orthodox Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 26-48, 191-95

tradition among many Americans, who sought a pull back from the liberal reforms of the 1950s and 1960s.[67]

All of this tradition-seeking happened as globalization and immigration accelerated too. Both trends meant a wider variety of goods and peoples in the United States, meaning a greater variety of authentic foods were available. As a result, a variety of groups sought tradition – groups that were not otherwise bedfellows. Authentic foods were one way of tradition seeking. While many Americans traveled back to their ancestors' homelands, those homelands were changing too. When they were not taking trips back to the old country, Americans sought vestiges of foreign traditions in America. As Italians with ancestors from Genoa sought out their home culture in the restaurants and shops of San Francisco, other Americans happily participated; anyone could eat true Genovese cuisine after all. As aspects of local cultures, such as Genovese food, become available in far-away places, they placed new roots, giving them more than one "tradition." Indian food became "local" in Britain by the end of the twentieth century, as seen in the curry pubs and chicken tikka takeout dinners, just as Chinese food had its own rooted variation in San Francisco with its fortune cookies, chop suey houses, and later, dim sum houses.[68] The existence of more than one version of a national cuisine in more than one place sometimes meant a bit of confusion over the very nature of those cuisines. Where could one find the authentic version? And how would one choose between all the possibilities?

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[67] On the rise of Christian evangelical movements in the 1970s, see Schulman, *The Seventies*, 92-107. For the 1980s, see Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up*, 158-85.
[68] On Indian food in Britain, see Basu, *Curry in the Crown*; Collingham, *Curry*.

Globalization could be disorienting not just to those who migrated, but also to those who stay put. *A History of Cooks and Cooking* describes this "eclecticism" of contemporary culture, in which people are barraged with choices.[69] Using a comic strip, Symons explains the ensuing confusion caused by the incredible range of goods in modern life,

> 'Mexican? … Chinese? … Pasta?... Italian?... Indian?... Pizza?... French?... Thai?... Salad?... Chicken?...' The character in the *Cathy* comic strip of Cathy Guisewite is overwhelmed by the choice of 'take-out' menus. In desperation, she picks up the phone and screams: 'Just send some food!!' I don't even care what it is!! But the listener hangs up. And so, in the fourth frame, Cathy stirs a pot on the stove, musing: 'Incredible… It's become easier to cook dinner than to order'[70]

Cathy, intending to make her life easier by ordering out, must huddle up and cook herself. Sometimes, this huddling up meant retreating to the familiar, whatever that meant for the individual in question. And because the United States was such a mix of peoples, it could mean many things – red beans and rice for New Orleanians, a hot dog from a cart for New Yorkers, or Chinese food from a diner in downtown San Francisco. "Huddling" up sometimes became a search for authenticity. Not all wanted to huddle up, however. Unlike Cathy, many sought adventure but were not able to travel regularly to China for Chinese food, or Italy for Italian. Adventure could be found in authentic foods close by.[71] If one could get it all in one American city, like San Francisco, why not go there?

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[69] Michael Symons, *A History of Cooks and Cooking* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 338.
[70] Ibid.
[71] One extended study of the search for authentic foods as a search exotic adventures is Lisa M. Heldke, *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer* (New York: Routledge, 2003). Other studies that examine authenticity and food include Sherrie Inness, *Pilaf, Pozole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Tobias Döring, Markus Heide, and Susanne Mühleisen, eds., *Eating Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Food* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2003).

Touring the World in San Francisco

Since World War II, San Francisco's Convention and Visitor's Bureau told prospective tourists that the city's unique splendor was derived in part from the ability to witness all the world's cultures and peoples there. Tourism was one of the city's largest revenue generators from the 1950s to the present, and tourists have to eat out. Besides the natural beauty of the city and its environs, San Francisco's guidebooks and marketing brochures emphasized most the variety of cuisines to be had at its restaurants. Here one can see a continuing theme – San Francisco was advertised as a destination for world-class, and world-inspired food from the 1960s to the present. By 2006, tourism was the largest industry in the city, supporting 68,000 jobs in a city with a population of around 800,000.[72] That year, readers of *Conde Nast Traveler* magazine selected San Francisco as the top tourist destination in the United States, a feat the city had repeated in 18 out of the previous 19 years.[73] As might be expected, tourism receipts for San Francisco County were high in proportion to its population. Travelers spent about double the amount per

[72] This number comes from the San Francisco Convention and Visitor's Bureau, which has every reason to overestimate the number of jobs resulting from tourism. Although the number may be a bit high, tourism is still a critical revenue generator for the city. David Armstrong, "Tourism's Rallying Cry: 'Only in San Francisco,'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 28, 2007; The population estimate for January 1, 2006 of 800,099 is from State of California, Department of Finance, *E-1 Population Estimates for Cities, Counties and the State with Annual Percent Change — January 1, 2006 and 2007, Sacramento, California, May 2007* http://www.dof.ca.gov/HTML/DEMOGRAP/ReportsPapers/Estimates/E1/E-1text.php (accessed January 24, 2008); The 2000 Census listed San Francisco's population at 776,773. See U.S. Census Bureau, "San Francisco, California: State & County Quickfacts," http://quickfacts.census.gov (accessed January 24, 2008).

[73] "Conde Nast Traveler Announces Results of the Annual Readers' Choice Awards," *PRNewswire*, October 17, 2006, at http://www.prnewswire.com/cgi-bin/stories.pl?ACCT=104&STORY=/www/story/10-17-2006/0004452977&EDATE= (accessed January 15, 2008). Santa Fe won the award in 1992, the only year since 1988 that San Francisco did not take the award. The 2006 survey was filled out by 21,000 respondents. The magazine claimed its survey was second only to the U.S. Census as an independent poll of consumer preferences. The magazine had a circulation of 750,000 that year.

resident in San Francisco than in Los Angeles, another popular destination.[74] Fittingly, one survey found that the top five reasons tourists were attracted to the city were its atmosphere and ambiance, restaurants, scenic beauty, diversity, and weather.[75] The state of California as a whole shared in this revenue. Tourism was the fourth largest industry in the state by 2006, ahead of even the information and electronics sectors.[76]

Authentic food had attracted visitors to San Francisco for years. In the 1960s, San Francisco guidebook authors seemed under orders to proclaim that there was no match for the variety of cuisines available in the city. One guide said that you would find "just about every national style of cookery there is – French, Italian, Chinese, Mexican, and so on – all at their best" in the city.[77] A Convention and Visitor's Bureau guide was titled "Dining Around the World in San Francisco."[78] The Hotel-Motel Greeters Guide used the same title, with many advertisements and descriptions concerning the authenticity of the food and atmosphere of various restaurants. Whether the cuisine was Russian, Japanese, or Italian, guidebooks proclaimed you could get the real thing in San Francisco restaurants.[79]

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[74] *California Fast Facts 2006* (Sacramento, CA: California Tourism, 2006), http://gocalif.ca.gov/media/uploads/files/FastFacts-06FINAL2.pdf (accessed January 15, 2008), 5.
[75] San Francisco Visitors and Convention Bureau, Press Release, "San Francisco Fact Sheet," revised May 19, 2006, at http://www.sfcvb.org/media/downloads/travel_media/sf_facts.pdf (accessed January 17, 2008), 1-7.
[76] Travel was the fourth largest industry in the state of California after "professional & technical services," "health services," and "construction." The "information" and "electronics" categories were fifth and sixth. See *California Fast Facts 2006*, 4. California was the most cited state as a destination for food-related travel in one 2007 survey. See "Salút, California," *Austin American-Statesman*, February 25, 2007.
[77] American Airlines, *American Airlines Guide to San Francisco* (Pamphlet), 1964, in OAK, VF, San Francisco County-1951- (I).
[78] See San Francisco Convention & Visitors Bureau*, Dining around the World in San Francisco* (Pamphlet), 1966, in OAK, VF, San Francisco County – 1951-(I).
[79] In one guidebook, Luchina advertised itself as an "authentic Russian restaurant in San Francisco," and another advertisement said, "Ever taste Japanese food? … never really, until you've eaten at Bush Garden."

If you could get the whole world in one city, it had to be the real world, not some adulterated version for American palates, for you might as well stay in the boonies if you wanted that. In its first edition, one San Francisco food guide set out to explain its purpose, noting it would "lobby for good quality, authenticity, and reasonable prices among merchants and restaurateurs."[80] In that first edition, it reviewed Mabuhay restaurant, located in the "historic International Hotel," which had long been a center point for Filipino immigrants in San Francisco.[81] The review claimed, "every dish was a total success," turning the diners from "novices into enthusiasts."[82] Mabuhay and another restaurant were exemplars of the guidebook's motto to find restaurants that met a standard of "authenticity." Furthermore, the authors were "particularly pleased that the highly spiced dishes had not been noticeably toned down to court the blander North American palate, an unfortunate tendency of many Northern Chinese and Latin American

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See *San Francisco Greeter's Guide*, September 20 - October 5, 1966 (San Francisco: Golden Gate Charter Hotel-Motel Greeters International), 20-22, SFHC, VF-SF Guides 1966. An "Ethnic Checklist of San Francisco restaurants could be found in Heironymous Anonymous, M.D., *A Psychiatrist's Guide to San Francisco* (Menlo Park, CA: Phantasmagorical Publications, 1966), 27-35. Several "authentic" or "traditional" spots could be visited in the city, according to the *Collegiate Guide to San Francisco*, from the Japanese Mingei-Ya restaurant with its "kimono-clad waitresses" to India House, with "authentic Indian décor" in Robert K. Gardner, *Collegiate Guide to San Francisco* (Hillsborough, CA: Collegiate Visitors Guides, 1964), 6-11, SFHC, VF-SF Guides, 1964. Getting a "full-course real Italian dinner" was possible at Caesar's Italian restaurant in North Beach too, *San Francisco Bay Welcome Map* 19.2 (San Francisco, Welcome Map Publishing, 1964).

[80] *Á la Vôtre!*, March/April 1971, 1, SFHC, VF-Guides (1971).

[81] Aniano Ruivavar, a Filipino Army veteran, said that the International Hotel was known throughout the Philippines, and that "any Filipino arriving the first time [to San Francisco] heads there," in Michel S. Laguerre, *The Global Ethnopolis: Chinatown, Japantown and Manilatown in American Society* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 84-88, 93-102, quote from Ruivavar, 96. The last Filipino tenants were evicted in 1977, after which the hotel was razed. In 2004, the area near the hotel was designated by the city as "Manilatown" in recognition of the once-large Filipino community. The hotel was located on Kearny Street between Columbus and Washington. See Cicero A. Estrella, "San Francisco: 'Manilatown Will Rise Again," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 28, 2004.

[82] *Á la Vôtre!*, March/April 1971, 19, in SFHC, VF-Guides (1971).

restaurants."[83] In their view, authenticity meant not pandering to the American palate. They proclaimed they would allow "no compromises" on authenticity.[84]

As a testament to authenticity, the exotic surroundings of a particular restaurant were often as critical as the food, but this changed over time. In the 1960s, one can see the carnivalesque masking for authenticity in restaurants. Menus featured pictures of Mexicans in sombreros, Indians in turbans or Jinnah caps, and Chinese in bamboo hats. These pictures were designed to lend an air of authenticity to the burritos, curries, and chow meins on the menus, even if the dishes were rarely served in their exact form in those countries. Guidebooks often claimed these restaurants could genuinely bring the customer south of the border or to the Orient.[85]

In short time the language of authenticity changed, as new immigrants sought a taste of home cuisines in America, introducing native-born Americans to these foods. Restaurant reviewers soon recognized this change and no longer judged authenticity solely on the restaurant's decorations. In 1978 the *San Jose Mercury News* ran a series of articles explaining that the wider San Jose area's new affluence and influx of immigrants were together producing more gourmet restaurants. As importantly, the newspaper argued that one need not go into San Francisco to get fine dining. Fung Lum, a Chinese restaurant that opened in a San Jose suburb in 1975, was one such restaurant,

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[83] Ibid, 20.
[84] Ibid, 18, 21.
[85] See menus from India House (no date, circa 1960s), San Francisco, CA, CCSF, Folder, Calif – San Francisco, H-L; Menu, Senor Pico, (circa 1964), San Francisco, CA, Paul Padgette restaurant menu collection, 1945-1990, BANC; For a representation of Chinese restaurants in the 1960s, see Picot, ed., *Gourmet International's Recommended Restaurants of San Francisco*. Also see Ewell, *Dining Out in San Francisco and the Bay Area*, 2nd ed.

demonstrating globalization's impact on Silicon Valley. Before venturing to the American market, the Lum family had already operated four large restaurants in Hong Kong and Taipei. They targeted California for a new location but found San Francisco and Los Angeles real estate too expensive, so they settled on the San Jose area for its high median income and rapidly growing population. They built their restaurant in the suburb of Campbell, where its manager claimed a large following because of its preparation of "authentic Chinese food," made possible by bringing a chef from Hong Kong and cooking equipment from China. Later that year, the *Mercury News* ran an article, "Chinese food – break out of the sweet and sour pork rut," naming Fung Lum as one place to break free.[86]

Fung Lum's owners chose San Jose because Silicon Valley and other suburban areas were drawing large immigrant populations, who introduced the "authentic" foods of those immigrants to the native-born. Into the 1980s and 1990s, San Francisco still dominated the region's tourist economy, and it also dominated the guidebooks. They told tourists and business travelers alike that they could find authentic versions of various foods in the different neighborhoods around the city. The Mission became the place for Mexican food, Japantown for Japanese, and guidebooks began paradoxically telling tourists they should look for authentic Chinese outside of Chinatown, for that old enclave

[86] "Hong Kong Cousins to Open Chinese Café in Campbell," February 4, 1975; Elias Castelo, "Fine Restaurants for Valley Clientele," January 29, 1978; "Fung Lum to Expand," July 4, 1978; "Chinese Food – Break out of the Sweet and Sour Pork Rut," March 17, 1978; Joseph Izzo, Jr., "Fung Lum is Still Dishing Out Chinese Haute Cuisine" August 23, 1981. All articles were in the *San Jose Mercury News*.

was a tourist trap. Furthermore, tourists were told they could find all those foods as if they were cooked in their home countries.[87]

As tourists became aware of regional cuisines, many of the restaurants mentioned in guidebooks no longer needed to explain that foods were authentic. Regional specificity equaled authenticity. Guidebook capsules read like a regional tours of China, Italy, or Southeast Asia as they traveled from restaurant to restaurant in San Francisco. The same guidebook that said Chinatown was left "for the most part to the tourists," noted that Wu Kong, in San Francisco's downtown, offered the "cuisine of Shanghai and Canton," while the "Chao Chow tradition of the southern coast of China" was "well represented" in another restaurant in North Beach.[88] The Hunan region's cuisine was best represented at Hunan's, which "critics nationwide" regarded as outstanding.[89] And lastly, the "Hakka cuisine of south China, rarely found in this country, was introduced to San Francisco" by Ton Kiang, a popular restaurant in the Richmond District far from Chinatown.[90] If you were not content with touring only China through San Francisco's restaurants, you could travel through Italy too, as "Italian food in San Francisco spans the 'boot' from the mild cooking of northern Italy to the spicy cuisine of the south."[91]

Such attention to place became a common tool for establishing authenticity. One study of the food magazines *Bon Appétit*, *Gourmet*, *Food and Wine*, and *Saveur*, found

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[87] *Fodor's 94 San Francisco* (New York: Fodor's Travel Publications, 1993), 129; *Fodor's Northern California* (New York: Fodor's Travel Publications, 2004), 41-47.
[88] *Fodor's 94 San Francisco*, 129.
[89] Ibid, 130.
[90] Ibid.
[91] While some listings advertised authenticity, such as the description a Persian and Afghani restaurants, most used very specific descriptions of regional origins for foods to imply the authentic, Ibid 132-33.

that linking foods to their places was "by far the most common discursive strategy for legitimating food," with some geographic reference appearing at least once in a full 100 percent of the articles they surveyed. Those articles contained an average of 13.7 references to geography.[92] In a time during which globalization seemed to make regions blur, claims of the authentic used region to orient readers and travelers to the hundreds of regional foods that could be found within one city, San Francisco.

The problem with regional specificity was that globalization upended local culture. In some cases, it created new hybrids that combined regional cultures. In other cases, it attached a region, such as California, to one of these hybrid cuisines. California cuisine was developed in the kitchens of San Francisco, Berkeley, and Los Angeles in the 1970s and 1980s. The cuisine was as much a philosophy about food as it was an actual template of cooking styles or ingredients. Combining elements of various European cuisines at first, it took on Asian and Latin American ingredients and cooking styles over time, owing to the diversity of the state. Often credited with its origins in Chez Panisse, a Berkeley restaurant founded by Alice Waters in 1971, the cuisine quickly became known around California and beyond. The California style was popularized by Jeremiah Tower (a Chez Panisse alumnus), Wolfgang Puck (chef to the Hollywood stars at Los Angeles' Spago), and other California chefs who ran pricey restaurants. In the 1980s, as Ronald Reagan promoted trickle down economics, California cuisine was trickling down to the

[92] Johnston and Baumann, "Democracy versus Distinction," 177-80, quote on 179. The study examined 102 articles published in 2004 in these magazines. This is one of the more important studies of the intersection of authenticity and food. It establishes how authenticity is conveyed in one format (food magazines) and in one year (2004).

masses through chains such as the California Pizza Kitchen restaurants, eventually making its way to frozen pizza cases in supermarkets nationwide.[93]

The geographer Drew Eliot Ross has argued that California cuisine "embodies" globalization by showing the "simultaneous homogenization and fragmentation of culture" and the cuisine's attempt to "reestablish place identity through cuisine."[94] One of the key elements of California cuisine was an emphasis on the sourcing of ingredients, rather than their preparation. Menus at California cuisine restaurants often named the farm at which a tangerine had been plucked before it appeared on a diner's plate.[95] The cuisine was uniquely Californian because almost anything can be grown there, and it could therefore refer to almost any culture.[96] While the Mediterranean climate of California and the long history of celebrating French and Italian cuisines meant Alice

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[93] Jeremiah Tower ran the very popular Stars restaurant close to City Hall in San Francisco during the 1980s and 1990s. It was a hobnobbing center for the city's political and business elite. On Chez Panisse, see Ruthe Stein, "The Chefs of Berkeley – Educated and Well-Fed," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 10, 1975; Michele Anna Jordan, "Serving Werner Herzog's Shoe," *San Francisco Focus*; Menu, "Downstairs Monday Night Dinners," June 5 - June 26, 1995, Chez Panisse, Berkeley, CA, and Menu, "Downstairs Dinner Menus: Week of June 26-July 1, 1995," Chez Panisse, Berkeley, CA; Bruce Cost, "The Chef Behind the Food," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 5, 1985; Jim Wood, "Alice's Restaurant," *San Francisco Examiner,* May 5, 1996, all found in Berkeley Public Library, Berkeley History Room, Clippings File, Restaurants - Chez Panisse. Also see Robert Lindsey, "California Grows Her Own Cuisine," *New York Times*, August 18, 1985. On California Pizza Kitchen and Wolfgang Puck's relationship to California Cuisine, see Jocelyn Y. Stewart, "Ed LaDou, 52: Chef Pioneered Gourmet Pizza Revolution," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 2008; Russ Parsons, "Simple Recipe for Sublime," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 2006. Cecilia Chiang, the owner of the Mandarin Restaurant in San Francisco, was close to Alice Waters and helped introduced Chinese cooking styles to her. Cecilia Chiang, Interview with the Author, October 11, 2006, Belvedere, CA; Janet Fletcher, "Cecilia Chiang's Epic Journey," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 24, 2007.

[94] Drew Eliot Ross, "Topography of Taste: Geography, Cultural Politics, and the Making of California Cuisine," (PhD diss: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1999), 177-78.

[95] Krishenendu Ray puts the date at which restaurateurs named ingredient sources in 1976 when Jeremiah Tower, then a chef at Chez Panisse, printed a menu that had "Monterey Bay Prawns" and "Walnuts, Almonds, and Mountain Pears from the San Francisco Farmers' Market." See Krishnendu Ray, "Ethnic Succession and the New American Restaurant Cuisine," in David Beriss and David Sutton, eds., *The Restaurants Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat* (New York: Berg, 2007), 100.

[96] On the enormous variety of foods grown in California and the state's dominance in American agriculture, see Kittler and Sucher, *Food and Culture,* 3rd ed., 431-32.

Waters and others made basically those foods first, mass immigration also meant chefs embraced Mexican, Chinese, and other cuisines.[97] Eventually, the cuisine came to reflect broader trends in the state. One former California politician remarked that the "new California" in 2008 was a "Mediterranean climate and a Mexican-American feel." He added that he did not think that added up to a "vision," but he hoped any candidate running for election there could handle California's "diversity" in a "graceful and efficient way."[98] He could have just as easily been talking about food rather than politics, for the diversity of the state produced quite a number of combinations on menus, flying in the face of the regional authenticity that was trumpeted by so many guidebooks. Like many Bay Area dining spots during the late 1980s, Berkeley's Paloma restaurant gave diners a menu of various national or regional cuisines. It included chicken marinated in tamarind, ginger and chili; quail with cranberry chutney; prawns with black bean and jalapeno sauce; a Mardi Gras coleslaw; and a black Indonesian rice pancake.[99]

The hybridization of regional foods, whether in the form of California cuisine or the combination of several regionally-identified foods on one menu raises the question of what really could be authentic in a time of globalization. While authenticity seemed a

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[97] Nobu Matsuhisa was a Japanese-born chef who, beginning in the 1980s, served sushi with various Latin American, European, and Asian accents in his Los Angeles, and later New York restaurants. See S. Irene Virbila, "Nobu Matsuhisa, the Man who Spiced up Sushi," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 2006.

[98] Tom Hayden, the 1960s student activist who later became a California state legislator, is the politician quoted in Jim Tankersley, "Trendsetter Legacy Fades in California," *Chicago Tribune*, February 4, 2008. Harry Pachon, a University of Southern California professor, argues in this article that California was moving more to the center, partly on the influence of Latino voters who embraced a "less partisan" political culture. Diversity then resulted in homogenization of political views.

[99] Menu, Paloma, Berkeley, CA, April 1, 1988, CCSF, Folder, Calif – San Francisco, P-R; Other restaurants serving California cuisine were Menu, Restaurant 101, San Francisco, CA, October 6, 1986, CCSF, Folder, Calif – San Francisco, P-R; Menu, Postrio, San Francisco, CA, 1989, CCSF, Folder, Calif – San Francisco, P-R.

desired trait, global trade meant change, which meant foods changed or were forgotten. Rapid change led one guide to proclaim that authenticity was something "few people can agree on." No matter, the guide told readers its goal was to present variety, not authenticity, adding that San Francisco had "a greater range of international restaurants than any other city in the world."[100] And to confirm that variety was the best trait for a city, the guide's section on the "Ten Best Ethnic Restaurants" began with a quote from Gerald Nachman, a long-standing Bay Area newspaper columnist, "Nachman's rule: when it comes to foreign food, the less authentic the better."[101]

What was the Real San Francisco Treat?

Nachman's sentiment was evident in the desire on the part of many tourists to get the real San Francisco experience. Few natives rode cable cars regularly, but for tourists, the ride was a true and unique experience of the city. Tourists also sought authentic San Francisco foods, and the city enthusiastically pitched foods to tourists that it claimed originated there. It was tourists as much as natives, however, who made them part of the city's blueprint.[102] This has been true for many foods that have a regional stamp. Some of these items were not regarded highly by locals until they elicited tourist revenues. In the

[100] Don and Betty Martin, *The Best of San Francisco,* 4th ed. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1997), 57.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Lucy M. Long, ed., "Introduction," *Culinary Tourism* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 9; On the manner in which foods can become associated with places, see Pauline Adema, "Festive Foodscapes: Iconizing Food and the Shaping of Identity and Place," (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2006); Cary W. de Wit's study, "Food Place Associations on American Product Labels," counted the number of places listed on foods from five supermarkets in Lawrence, Kansas. Texas and California were the two most frequently used place names. See Barbara G. Shortridge and James R. Shortridge, *The Taste of American Place: A Reader on Regional and Ethnic Foods* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 101-09.

case of Maine, lobster was one such food. Most outsiders associate the spiny creature with the state, but the locals saw it as a low-status food for many years. It was only the annual flow of tourists from the Northeast to Maine each summer that changed it to a "regional icon," and an expensive one at that.[103] The tourists who came to the state raised the status of the food so much that Maine lobsters were eventually shipped at a high-cost for out of state eaters. One scholar has noted that "The capacity of food to hold time, place, and memory is valued all the more in an era of hypermobility, when it can seem as if everything is available everywhere, all the time."[104] In the rootless world of globalization, even if you can get it anywhere by air cargo, the lobster is still grounded in Maine. For other local foods, the authentic item is in fact fake. Another bottom dweller, the blue crab, is an integral part of the tourist trade on the Maryland shoreline. While the lobsters served in Maine are still farmed in Maine (or close by in Canada), the crab served in Baltimore and Annapolis often would seem to be "local," but in fact is not. Instead, beginning in the 1990s, much of the crab sold in Maryland restaurants came from Asia. The Chesapeake variety had been overfished, making it scarce and expensive.[105]

Like the blue crab, San Francisco's claims of authentic local origin sometimes don't bear scrutiny. The San Francisco Convention and Visitors Bureau promotes a list of

[103] See George H. Lewis, "The Maine Lobster as Regional Icon," *Food and Foodways* 3.4 (1999): 303-316.
[104] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Foreword," in Long, ed., *Culinary Tourism*, xiii.
[105] Kelly Feltault, "Re: Eat Local and Seafood," post to Association for the Study of Food and Society Digest (e-mail list service), September 3, 2007; M.L. Faunce, "Will Maryland Crab Houses Slide into History?," *Bay Weekly* (Annapolis, MD), July 25-31, 2002, http://www.bayweekly.com/year02/issueX30/leadX30.html (accessed January 25, 2008).

San Francisco "food firsts" that include the fortune cookie, Irish coffee, and cioppino.[106] The Irish coffee indeed did seem to be reconfigured and popularized in San Francisco in the 1950s, though it was first served by a bartender at Shannon airport in Ireland. If cioppino, the tomato-broth seafood stew, did not originate in the city, at least it was the Italian-American fishermen on the wharves that made it a San Francisco treat.[107] The fortune cookie is another matter. Though the Bureau claims the fortune cookie as a legacy of the city's long standing Chinese population, it was probably first produced in Japan. One researcher spent years on the trail of the fortune cookie and believes she located them having been crafted at least as early as 1878 by a baker outside Kyoto, according to a contemporary drawing she uncovered. The families that claim that their ancestors first made fortune cookies in the United States usually date their "invention" around the 1900s or 1910s. Two of the bakeries, Benkyodo in San Francisco, and Fugetsodo in Los Angeles, were both owned by Japanese immigrants at that time. These and other bakeries supplied Chinese restaurants with the cookies, but it was really during and after World War II that the cookies took on a new popularity, as the war's internment policies forced Japanese bakers to relinquish control of their businesses. Shortly after, in the 1950s, Chinese-American inventors developed fortune cookie making machines to

[106] San Francisco Convention and Visitors Bureau, Press Release, "Only in San Francisco: Food Firsts and Facts," July 31, 2007 http://www.sfcvb.org/travel_media/press.asp?rid=377&cid=5 (accessed January 17, 2008).

[107] Stanton Delaplane, who worked at the Buena Vista bar in San Francisco, where hundreds of Irish coffees are served daily, perfected the recipe after seeing it served in Shannon airport. Carl Nolte, "Java the Irish Way," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 16, 2002. Most food historians agree that cioppino was not invented in San Francisco, but was simply a variation on a stew that Italian fishermen from the Ligurian coast brought to San Francisco in the late 1800s or early 1900s. These fishermen used local San Francisco seafood for the stew. See "Food Timeline: Soups and Stews," on Lynne Olver, ed, *Food Timeline Website*, revised August 23, 2007, http://www.foodtimeline.org/foodsoups.html#cioppino (accessed February 13, 2008).

quicken the process. Originally, the cookies had been made using a handheld press over hot coals.[108] Even if the fortune cookie was popularized by San Francisco restaurateurs, it is still hard to claim that it was a purely San Francisco invention. The authentic is not always what it may seem.[109]

When it comes to foods, the authentic can also be highly personal or individualistic. Many people ate Cajun food and frozen yogurt during the mid-1980s, just as many also wore stirrup pants and neon-colored shirts. All could count as authentic experiences of the era. This sort of authenticity was in evidence in one paean to the fried egg roll in an issue of *Saveur*, a food magazine that carries the tagline on its cover, "Savor a World of Authentic Cuisine." The article's author described his childhood as one dominated by these egg rolls, which he ate on a daily basis at a branch of the Empire Szechuan restaurant chain in New York City during the 1980s. He explained that although the "pudgy, cabbage-stuffed snacks didn't actually originate in China," they were "the authentic cuisine of my boyhood."[110] Because these egg rolls were a defining part of his childhood, they became authentic. They were an authentic Upper West Side

[108] The Japanese researcher who uncovered the 1878 drawing was Yasuko Nakamachi, as described in Jennifer Lee, "Solving a Riddle Wrapped in Mystery Inside a Cookie," *New York Times*, January 16, 2008; Jean H. Lee, "Surprise Ancestry of the Fortune Cookie," *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1998; David Lazarus, "Unfolding the Origin of a Confection," and "Changing Fortunes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 7, 1999. See also notes in Him Mark Lai Papers, 1778-2002 (bulk 1970-1995), AAS ARC 2000/80, at Asian American Studies Archives, Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter HML), Carton 7:51, Business Enterprises – Food Manufacture – Fortune Cookies, 1974-1998.

[109] One author described the "staged authenticity" he saw in San Francisco during the 1960s and 1970s, including the Greyline guided tours of hippie life in the Haight-Asbury district. He also noted that "some of the go-go girls in San Francisco's North Beach have their breasts injected with silicones in order to conform their size, shape, and firmness to the characteristics of an ideal breast." See Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79.3 (1973): 589-603, quote on 591.

[110] Steven Shaw, "Empire of Egg Rolls," *Saveur*, 16.

experience, even if they were not authentically from China, meaning their significance was still geographically specific, but not of the place one might expect.[111]

The slippery nature of authenticity may be due in part because it can be staged – a fact known by most observers. The Italian scholar Umberto Eco made a trip across the United States, observing that the fake was often more real than the real when seen in wax museums, Elvis impersonators, and Disneyland.[112] Staged realities, such as those found in New York's Times Square, San Francisco's Fisherman's Wharf, or the whole of the Las Vegas Strip, could be more impressive than the real thing they supposedly mimicked.[113] Las Vegas "may be a cliché, but it's a cliché on steroids — phoniness cultivated with a staggering amount of care and money."[114]

Who Exactly is Making That Authentic Sushi?

The phony or the authentic – take your pick – were being cultivated by an army of worker bee immigrants in the restaurants, cafes, and grocery stores of Las Vegas and San Francisco and most places in-between. When it came to food, the parade of the authentic was evident in the immigrants who actually cooked, washed dishes, and bussed tables at these places. Previous generations of immigrants from a variety of ethnic groups had

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[111] Ibid. To explain the difference between egg rolls served in China and those served at Empire Szechuan, Shaw notes, "Soo Lon Moy, curator of the Chinese-American Museum of Chicago, says they're derived from lighter, skinnier Cantonese spring rolls, which were supersized by restaurateurs for the American market in the 1930s."

[112] Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays*, translated by William Weaver (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986).

[113] On New York, Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1995); On Las Vegas, John M. Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940* (Berkeley: University of California, 1992).

[114] Charles McGrath, "What Happened in Vegas Stayed in ~~Vegas~~ His Novel," *New York Times*, January 27, 2008.

done the same work before, but by the end of the twentieth century, Mexicans, and to a lesser extent, other immigrant groups from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia did this work.[115]

If Mexicans were in the backroom, it was not evident in the dining rooms of many restaurants, save the quiet busboy who swept dirty dishes away. But that was changing slowly over time, even as restaurants still invested heavily in decorations from whatever land they were serving food from. Most Chinese restaurants were outfitted with pagodas and red lanterns, and Mexican restaurants had sombreros and colorful blankets tacked up on the wall. Many also hired waiters and hosts who looked like the cuisine in question, even if the cooks in the back were not ethnically right. The sushi restaurant usually had a Japanese-looking chef at the counter, just as the Indian restaurant had an Indian-looking host.[116] This had long been the case, even before Mexicans or other Latin Americans were the main workers in the back. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, many Chinese immigrants used the restaurant industry and other small business professions as a way to

[115] Those immigrants also worked in the meatpacking houses of the Midwest and South and the orchards and farms stretching from Washington to Florida that processed the foods served in restaurants and grocery stores. There is a massive literature on labor in agriculture and food industries. One recent study is Daniel Rothenberg, *With These Hands: The Hidden World of Migrant Farmworkers Today* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). The more recent work by Latin American immigrants in poultry, pork and other food processing plants in the South and Midwest is told in Raymond A. Mohl, "Globalization, Latinization, and the Nuevo New South," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 22.4 (2003): 31-66; Lionel Cantú "The Peripheralization of Rural America: A Case Study of Latino Migrants in America's Heartland," *Sociological Perspectives* 38.3 (1995): 399-414; William Kandel and Emilio A. Parrado, "Restructuring of the US Meat Processing Industry and New Hispanic Migrant Destinations," *Population and Development Review* 31.3 (2005): 447-71; On the changing groups of immigrants who labored in the restaurant industry from the 1800s to the present in New York City, see Ray, "Ethnic Succession and the New American Restaurant Cuisine," in Beriss and Sutton, eds, *The Restaurants Book*, 97-114.

[116] This could be someone who "passed" for the ethnicity in question. Chinese chefs passed for Japanese, Guatemalans for Mexican, and Middle Easterners for Indian.

earn a steady income when they were barred from employment in other realms.[117] Some created their own restaurants serving Chinese food. Others worked as cooks, busboys, and dishwashers in restaurants owned by whites. In the 1960s, one guide remarked that for the Koe Auberge restaurant, "strangely enough, this spot's Chinese chefs prepare some of the best European food in the city – and at reasonable prices."[118] The Chinese presence in San Francisco's kitchens has continued to the present, but you will find many more Mexican and other Latin American immigrants at the grill and stove in American restaurants during the post-1960s era.[119]

One study found that in the city of Chicago in 2000, more Mexican men worked as cooks than in any other occupation, including construction and gardening.[120] Most were not necessarily making Mexican food, but instead threw pizzas, rolled sushi, and chopped ginger, indicating that the authentic was again a slippery notion. And while it may have been necessary at one time for a sushi bar to have a Japanese-looking person behind the counter, it was slowly becoming acceptable to have Mexican-American chefs, or "susheros," crafting tuna rolls at many spots. Roberto Pina was one such chef at

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[117] See Roberts, *China to Chinatown*, 135-52.
[118] *Medical World Guide to San Francisco*, May 22, 1964, 12 in SFHC, VF-SF Guides, 1964.
[119] Chinese immigrants continued to work in the restaurant industry in the large cities of the West Coast and in New York. A cooking school for Chinese immigrants opened in 1975 in Los Angeles to train these immigrants. They were in demand because of the "rapid increase in local Chinese restaurants," and a demand for labor in those places. See Henry Christopher, "CETA Chinese Cooking School" *Civic Center News*, September 12, 1978, HML, Carton 93:14, Research Files, Restaurants – Organizations, 1952, 1978-1999. In his memoir, the chef Anthony Bourdain catalogued the "Mexicans and Ecuadorians and Salvadorans and Latinos" who worked for him in various restaurants, whether in Cape Cod, Massachusetts or New York City. See *Kitchen Confidential: Adventures in the Culinary Underbelly* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2000), quote on 142.
[120] Oscar Avila and Antonio Olivo, "A Foot in the Kitchen Door," *Chicago Tribune*, November 26, 2006; On the Mexican impact on the food service labor force, see Rob Paral, "No Way In: U.S. Immigration Policy Leaves Few Legal Options for Mexican Workers," *Immigration Policy in Focus* 4.5 (2005) http://robparal.com/downloads/nowayin.htm (accessed February 8, 2008).

Midori, a sushi restaurant in Chicago. Most of his coworkers were Mexican immigrants too. When he began working there in 1990, many Asian customers saw him and immediately walked out of the restaurant. He said those customers "accepted" him over time, however.[121] While Pina basically makes sushi in the standard Japanese-American style, he has added some Mexican aspects to his creations, including one roll with arbol chiles and ten tequilas on his otherwise sake-heavy drink menu. Across Chicago, Mexican cooks were making other foods too – a group of cooks from Zacatecas were found discussing "the finer points of tandoori chicken" as they relaxed after work.[122] And though immigrant workers dominated the underbelly of the restaurant trade, many of the cooks and busboys moved to management positions as well. Pedro Barrera was one such manager. Having come to the United States in 1986 to work at the Lou Malnati's pizza chain in Chicago, he rose through the ranks to become an executive who oversaw kitchens in its two dozen outposts and "jealously" protected "the culinary legacy of the Italian-American Malnati clan as if it were his own family's recipes."[123] As he oversees these kitchens, he mostly supervises immigrant Mexican workers like himself.

Searching for the Authentic in a World of Sameness

[121] Oscar Avila and Antonio Olivo, "Blending Cultures, Flavors" *Chicago Tribune*, November 26, 2006.
[122] Ibid. A Salvadoran immigrant won a major sushi-preparing contest in Los Angeles in 2005, and Mexican sushi chefs are numerous in Chicago, giving rise to the term "sushero." See also Claire Levinson, "How do you say "Sushi" in Spanish?," *NY Resident Magazine*, April 10, 2007, http://74.54.115.114/node/606 (accessed February 13, 2008).
[123] Quoted in Avila and Olivo, "A Foot in the Kitchen Door." Many of the "back of house" staff in restaurants work for low wages and in conditions in which they have little chance for promotion because of their poor education and/or poor English language skills. As with previous immigrant groups, there are more examples of Mexicans rising to become owners or managers of non-Mexican restaurants too, such as Carlos Nieto, who owns Carlos' a French restaurant just north of Chicago that is often named among the best in the area.

Even if authenticity was sometimes difficult to pin down, Americans still wanted it in their foods. They wanted to get the whole world in one city, whether that city was San Francisco, Chicago, or a suburb of either. Through these authentic foods, they also sought escape from the sameness that globalization had brought to their surroundings.

In one scene in the movie, *The Terminal*, actor Tom Hanks shaves in an airport bathroom next to a harried businessman doing the same. The businessman asks Hanks, "Ever feel like you're living in an airport?" The punch line is the basis of the movie – Hanks has been stuck in the airport for several days because he does not have proper immigration papers; he *is* living there.[124] The scene resonates with viewers because there are indeed thousands of business travelers who flit from airport to airport, city to city, hotel room to hotel room, sometimes so disoriented by their travels that they frequently look up from their cell phones at the McDonald's menu inside some terminal, wondering what city they are in.

The sameness of surroundings was not just confined to the airport terminal – it could be found at the fast food counter, in the cookie cutter suburban housing stock, or in the seemingly endless series of highways in urban and suburban corridors – all a product of the mass production techniques that took vigorous hold after World War II. The suburban houses and fast food stops were, in many ways, created by the automobile. Americans ate a greater proportion of their meals away from home in the last few decades of the twentieth century, and fast food was a major component of this trend;

[124] *The Terminal*, DVD, directed by Steven Spielberg, (Universal City, CA: Dream Works Home Entertainment, 2004).

furthermore, most fast food purveyors did a majority of their business at the drive-thru.[125] The success of the fast food chains meant Americans increasingly ate a homogenized diet. They also occupied homogenized homes in which they returned to chomp their burgers and fries. One historian emphasized the architectural "monotony and repetition" of suburban houses.[126]

Americans have both loved and hated the cast of this suburban life. They moved in droves to the suburbs after World War II, and have continued ever since. The 1970 census was the first in which more Americans lived in suburbs than central cities, and by 2000, about 50 percent lived in those suburbs while only about 30 percent resided in central cities.[127] Though Americans moved to these suburbs in great numbers, their pallor-inducing sameness also prompted cultural critiques. As early as the 1920s, Lewis Mumford criticized suburban Brooklyn by saying that it was a "no-man's land which was neither town nor country," but instead a "twilight zone of an essentially suburban civilization."[128] In the early 1960s, Malvina Reynolds penned the popular song, "Little Boxes" about the houses made of "ticky-tacky," occupied by people who "all look just the same." Her song was inspired by the rows and rows of identical houses on the hills of Daly City, a suburb just south of San Francisco.[129] Four decades later, the "Weeds"

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[125] Stewart et al., *The Demand for Food Away from Home*, 2.
[126] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 239-41; Halberstam, *The Fifties*, 131-43.
[127] Hobbs and Stoops, *Demographic Trends of the 20th Century*, 33.
[128] Quoted in Becky Nicolaides, "How Hell Moved from the City to the Suburbs: Urban Scholars and Changing Perceptions of Authentic Community," in Kruse and Sugrue, *The New Suburban History*, 87. Nicolaides describes how the suburbs replaced cities as the objects of criticism by major writers, including Mumford, Jane Jacobs, and William Whyte.
[129] Smith and Schimmel, "Little Boxes." "Little Boxes" has a 1962 copyright. Reynolds was on her way from her home in Berkeley to a meeting south of San Francisco when she passed through Daly City and was inspired to write the song.

television series chronicled a suburban housewife who lived in a tract development. Each week, the series' opening credits showed identical figures leaving their identical homes in identical SUV's to purchase identical heat-sleeve-encased coffees on the way to what were presumably identical jobs; fittingly, "Little Boxes" plays behind the montage.[130] Although the occupants of the California suburbs had a much more diverse ethnic and racial makeup than years prior, their consumption habits had many common features.[131]

One of those features was fast food consumption, and it caused some to search for authenticity in the diners and cafes that had dotted the landscape before the burger chains. This search was reflected in one 1980s guidebook, *Authentic Texas Cafes*. The guide's authors explained that Texas "seems to keep changing," and though they were "not opposed to change," they searched for Texas cafes because they defined something about the state, even as their "waning numbers underscore the erosions of old Texas."[132] The guidebook was, according to the authors, the way to know "where to look" for authentic Texas cafes that had survived the "marketing macho" of its competitors, "McDonald's Wendy's, Dairy Queen, or Sonic."[133] What made a café authentic then? First, simply enough, the authors advised that cafes called themselves cafes, and there was a "glass display case with a well-worn cash register" in front.[134] Besides these musts, there are usually signs of personal connections to the café on the walls, such as photos of family

[130] *Weeds*, *Season 1,* DVD, (Santa Monica, CA: Lion's Gate Home Entertainment, 2006)
[131] On Hispanics, Asians, and blacks moving to the suburbs, see William H. Frey, "Melting Pot Suburbs: A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity," *The Brookings Institution: Census 2000 Series*, June 2001, at http://www.frey-demographer.org/reports/billf.pdf (accessed February 8, 2008), 1-17.
[132] Susan Ellis Kennard and Ed Kennard, *Authentic Texas Cafes* (Austin: Texas Monthly Press, 1986), 3-4.
[133] Ibid, 4.
[134] The authors also said if "the Lions eat there, it's probably good enough for you," Ibid, 5.

members, local sportsmen, or "trophy deer or fish."[135] Most importantly, the cafes are defined by the fact that "no two are exactly alike," despite the reality that many in Texas served a fairly standard menu of chicken-fried steak, catfish, pecan pie, and a smattering of Tex-Mex dishes.[136]

The overall theme of the Texas café guide was to provide "alternatives to the fast-food chains that we all know and use occasionally."[137] This is the thrust of many guidebooks – very few list fast food chains because they are so easy to find. Such fast food restaurants could also be termed placeless, for they are available anywhere, even if some vary their cuisine slightly according to the locale.[138] If pizza and burgers can be had in major cities from New York to London to Tokyo and in-between, the guidebooks try to distinguish what is typical and unique of the location. Some cities, such as San Francisco, recognize the sameness of the fast-food world, and have responded in kind, trying to sustain their distinctiveness.

San Francisco and Sameness

If some in Texas wanted to find the cafés of old, the city of San Francisco was much more antagonistic to chain businesses, whether they sold coffee, food, or housewares. The resistance was of many stripes, but it included a desire on the part of many San Franciscans for authenticity, distinctiveness, and tradition. One 1998 study

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[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid, 3-6, quote on 5.
[137] Ibid, 6.
[138] On the adaptations that McDonald's makes around the world, see Watson, ed., *Golden Arches East*. Even though McDonald's varies somewhat from country to country, there is little variance from state to state within the United States.

showed that the city's food business was unique in many respects. It had the highest per-capita number of restaurants in the country, but also had 12.6 percent fewer franchise family and fast food outlets than the national average, meaning independent restaurants thrived.[139] It also had the highest percentage of Asian restaurants in the country – not surprising as it had the second highest percentage of Asian residents for any city with a population over 500,000.[140] These distinctive elements were partly a function of the ethnic makeup of the population, but were also deliberate public policy strategies. San Francisco was not a lone ranger, for many viewed the city as a forerunner of national trends. One restaurant consultant explained that he could predict trends in New York City a few years ahead by simply observing what was happening in San Francisco.[141]

To keep its distinctiveness, the city of San Francisco passed an anti-chain ordinance in 2004, prohibiting certain "formula retail" business from setting up shop in San Francisco "neighborhood commercial districts" without the approval of the individual regions of the city.[142] These districts were zoned by the city, and included most of the large retail areas within. Formula retail was defined as a business that had 11 or

[139] The study was "1998 Recount U.S." conducted by NPD Foodservice Information Group, Rosemont, IL, as detailed in Michael Bauer and Miriam Morgan, "The Bay Area Palate," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 30, 1999.

[140] Honolulu had the highest percentage of Asians among cities over 500,000 people, at 55.9 percent of the population. San Francisco was second, with 30.8 percent of the population, and San Jose third, with 26.9 percent. If one looks at the ten cities with over 100,000 residents that had the largest percentage of Asian residents in their populations, six were in the Bay Area. They were, in order from highest to lowest, Daly City, Fremont, Sunnyvale, San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San Jose. See Jessica S. Barnes and Claudette E. Bennett, *The Asian Population: 2000, Census 2000 Brief* (Washington DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), 7-8.

[141] The consultant was Clark Wolf, quoted in Bauer and Morgan, "The Bay Area Palate."

[142] Quotes from "Section 702.1, Neighborhood Commercial Use Districts, City and County of San Francisco Municipal Code Planning Code." On the passage of the law, see also "S.F. Approves Chain Store Restrictions," *Bay City News*, March 23, 2004.

more branches in the United States and maintained "two or more of the following features: a standardized array of merchandise, a standardized façade, a standardized décor and color scheme, a uniform apparel, standardized signage, a trademark or a servicemark."[143] Wal-Mart, Starbucks, and McDonald's were among the most commonly cited chains that fit this bill. The ordinance explained that it restricted formula retail because San Francisco had "diverse and distinct neighborhoods," that retail activities are "most critical to the success of the City's commercial districts," and that the "standardized" aspects of the formula retail businesses "can detract from the distinctive character" of certain neighborhoods.[144] As the vice president of the Hayes Valley Neighborhood Association in San Francisco explained, "We don't want San Francisco to look like Trenton, New Jersey, or Topeka, Kansas."[145] The city probably would not look like Coronado, California, either, which had passed a similar ordinance, or St. Paul, Minnesota's Grand Avenue Business District, which had considered one.[146]

San Francisco's ordinance caught one new chain, the Red Mango yogurt shops, in its crosshairs as it tried to set up shop in North Beach, one of the Neighborhood Commercial Use Districts. As with other neighborhoods, the city's municipal code detailed what business uses were permissible in the area. Chain coffee shops, for example, were prohibited in North Beach because of fierce feelings there about the many

[143] "Section 702.1, Neighborhood Commercial Use Districts, City and County of San Francisco Municipal Code Planning Code."
[144] Ibid.
[145] Haya El Nasser, "Cities Put Shackles on Chain Stores," *USA Today*, July 20, 2004.
[146] Ibid.

independently owned and long-standing Italian coffeehouses.[147] The Red Mango yogurt shops were brand new, having opened their first location in the United States in 2007. The company had been founded in Korea just four years prior, but its growth there was dramatic – it opened 130 stores between 2003 and 2007. Another chain, Pinkberry, which also sold frozen yogurt, had opened over a dozen locations in the Los Angeles and New York area, priming the entry of Red Mango into the American market. That chain, which opened its first location in 2005, had been infused with money from Starbucks' investment arm.[148] When one investor tried to establish a Red Mango outlet in North Beach, he was thwarted by the ordinance.[149] Ironically, Red Mango's U.S. Web site said "Red Mango is Real Yogurt," followed by the assertion that the company made "authentic" yogurt, as opposed to the sweetened frozen yogurt that was popular in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. The chain sold only two unsweetened flavors – plain and green tea, which could be accompanied by fruit and candy toppings. According to Red Mango, only unsweetened yogurt was authentic, but according to the

[147] "Section 722.1 North Beach Neighborhood Commercial District, City and County of San Francisco Municipal Code Planning Code," (Tallahassee, FL: Municipal Code Corporation, 2006) http://www.municode.com/Resources/gateway.asp?sid=5&browseAllCodes=San%20Francisco (accessed January 22, 2008). On Starbucks and North Beach, see C.W. Nevius, "'Survivor' Champ May not Make it in North Beach," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 22, 2008.
[148] Jennifer Kim, "The Yogurt Heard Round the World," *East West* http://www.eastwestmagazine.com/content/view/101/45 (accessed January 22, 2008). Also see Matt Krantz, "Red Mango USA Dishes up Healthier Frozen Yogurt," *USA Today*, December 30, 2007.
[149] The controversy became public because the franchisee was Yul Kwon, who had won the "Survivor: Cook Islands" television show in 2006 and was considering a run for Congress in a Bay Area district. See Nevius, "'Survivor' Champ."

city of San Francisco, Red Mango was inauthentic because it was a chain that served a standardized product.[150]

Seeking Tradition in a Radical Place

The anti-chain ordinances spoke to a desire for tradition in the face of change – this time to get away from the new sameness spread by suburban-style life.[151] The search for tradition had been an undercurrent in American life, embodied in the rise of conservatism since the 1960s, but San Francisco was a bit different in its tradition seeking. Residents of San Francisco could reference a radical tradition, one that had brought change constantly. The city had been home to successive waves of immigrants, which itself brought change of one sort. Furthermore, political and ecological events had upended the city. The Gold Rush and World War II were perhaps the central changelings, for both had introduced waves of people and money to the region. The earthquakes in 1906 and 1989 had further prompted a reevaluation of the city's planning, architecture, and economy. Lastly, revolutions and wars in China, Vietnam, Mexico, Iran, El Salvador, Guatemala, and a host of other countries had brought people to and from the city.

The mark of change had then been upon San Francisco from its inception, and a battle against tradition infused the movements centered in the Bay Area in the 1950s and 1960s. The Beatniks made their center in North Beach, the hippies in Haight-Ashbury, and the Free Speech activists and Black Panthers in Berkeley and Oakland.[152] Georgia

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[150] "Nutrition" at Red Mango USA corporate Web site, http://www.redmangousa.com (accessed January 22, 2008).
[151] El Nasser, "Cities Put Shackles on Chain Stores."
[152] On the broad outlines of San Francisco history, see Charles Wollenberg, *Golden Gate Metropolis:*

Hesse, a local writer, reflected on the change at the heart of the San Francisco experience by quoting from an old song's chorus of "San Francisco's changing, changing, But no matter whatever comes, There'll still be Grace Cathedral, And crumpets and tea at Blum's." As Hesse explained, the song was hopelessly out of date, for "Blum's is gone… Gays are married in Grace Cathedral," and, quoting Herb Caen, the city's most famous chronicler, "nostalgia is a thing of the past.'"[153] Change was a blueprint for the city,

> In a day of increasing sameness and sterility, San Francisco delights in the diversity of its neighborhoods; sometimes it seems you should have a passport to go from one to another. 'Chinoiserie, chiaroscuro, chili sauce' was one writer's description of the city's ethnic mix (forgetting the teriyaki). Even the weather refuses homogeneity: Union Square can be bathed in sunlight while the shoppers on West Portal near the ocean shiver in fog.[154]

Those Bay Area's microclimates meant you could change 30 degrees temperature in just 30 minutes drive from coast to inland suburb. The weather and the food were used together to explain the carnival of possibilities from one place to another. Another guidebook connected the two, saying, "like the local climate, food in San Francisco can change considerably within the space of a few blocks."[155] But even as change and

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Perspectives on Bay Area History (Berkeley: Institute for Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1985). Kevin Starr, *Coast of Dreams: California on the Edge, 1990-2003* (New York: Knopf, 2004) covers the Bay Area in many sections. Also see Roger W. Lotchin, "The City and the Sword: San Francisco and the Rise of the Metropolitan-Military Complex, 1919-1941," *Journal of American History* 65:4 (1979): 996-1020; Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); William Issel and Robert W. Cherney, *San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*. Recent population trends are detailed in Tyche Hendricks, "All Roads Lead to the Bay Area," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 27, 2002.

[153] Georgia I. Hesse, "Overview" in *The Berlitz Traveler's Guide to San Francisco & Northern California,* 4th ed. (New York: Berlitz, 1994), 1.

[154] Georgia I. Hesse with Susan Shook, "San Francisco" in *The Berlitz Traveler's Guide to San Francisco & Northern California,* 34.

[155] Mick Sinclair, *Fodor's Exploring San Francisco* (New York: Fodor's, 1997), 215.

diversity were themes for San Francisco, tradition was too. Hesse advised readers that you could get authentic French food at Café Bastille in an area that was "once the center of a long-gone Gallic mining community known as Frenchmen's Hill."[156] The authenticity of that café lay in its Gold Rush roots.

At the heart of the San Francisco experience were these tensions between tradition and change, sameness and diversity, authenticity and fakery. San Francisco was a city wedded to change, but it was also one that sold tourists on it authentic, traditional foods. Some were San Francisco specials, created within the city, but many were the traditions from afar, supposedly served as they were in a Hong Kong teahouse or a Delhi roadside stand. If diversity, authenticity, and tradition could all be had in San Francisco by replicating foods from afar, at what point did a certain sameness emerge between San Francisco and the world?

Sameness from India to the Bay Area

Though San Francisco has had vibrant connections with Asia and Latin America since the Gold Rush, they became stronger after the 1960s. Immigrants from those areas poured into the region, and at the same time the economies of developing countries there began to support larger middle classes.[157] The city's convention and visitor's bureau had

[156] Hesse with Shook, "San Francisco" in *The Berlitz Traveler's Guide to San Francisco & Northern California*, 43.
[157] On the middle class in these countries see Gurcharan Das, "The Respect they Deserve," *Time Asia*, November 29, 2004; Moises Naim, "Growing Middle Class Already Leaving a Mark," *San Jose Mercury News*, February 12, 2008; Chris Hawley, "In Mexico, an Energized Economy Raises Hopes," *USA Today*, February 11, 2008. In relation to food consumption, see Benjamin Senauer and Linda Goetz, "The Growing Middle Class in Developing Countries and the Market for High-Value Food Products," February 2003,

every reason to reach out to travelers from near and far in any era, but its efforts took on a different cast after the 1970s and 1980s. Whereas American and European travelers were courted before, by the beginning of the twenty-first century travelers from Asia and Latin America increasingly disembarked at San Francisco (SFO) and San Jose's airports. In 2007, the city's tourist bureau announced an alliance with SFO to open a "representation office" in New Delhi to promote San Francisco. The bureau was trying to capitalize on the popularity of the city for Indian travelers (second only to New York), rising wealth in India, and an increase in flights from SFO to India and back.[158] Lufthansa airlines had begun a one-stop route to Indian cities through Frankfurt that significantly shortened what was usually a two-stop trip. The San Francisco to Bangalore route was especially popular, as Indian and American technology firms both operated in the booming Indian city.[159] Seats on the route were typically full when it started with three flights a week in 2001, so the number was upped to seven by 2004.[160] These seats were mostly occupied

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Paper prepared for the Workshop on Global Markets for High-Value Food (Washington DC: ERS-USDA, 2003). http://www.farmfoundation.org/documents/Ben-Senauerpaper2--10--3-13-03_000.pdf (accessed February 13, 2008).

[158] San Francisco Convention and Visitors Bureau, Press Release, "The San Francisco Convention & Visitors Bureau and SFO Partner in India Representation Office," July 3, 2007, http://www.sfcvb.org/travel_media/press.asp?rid=370&cid=1 (accessed January 17, 2008).

[159] Infosys was an Indian-born company and one of the most successful of the new Indian technology firms based in Bangalore. Other major American companies that built offices in India were IBM, General Electric, and American Express. On American companies in India, see Thomas Friedman and Terence Smith, "Tom's Journal," *Online News Hour*, March 9, 2004, at http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/asia/jan-june04/friedman_03-09.html (accessed January 25 2008); Sanjoy Majumder, "U.S. Companies Eye Indian Skills," *BBC News*, March 2, 2006, at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/4767232.stm (accessed January 25, 2008). This article reported that between visits by Bill Clinton in 2000 and George W. Bush in 2006 that American companies had shifted from outsourcing low-skill labor to Indian workers to contracting high-level research and development projects with Indian firms. As a result, many Indian professionals who had worked in the U.S. returned to India because they saw opportunities on par of those in America.

[160] Lufthansa also operated flights between Frankfurt and other Indian cities. John Boudreau, "Networking at 35,000 Feet," *San Jose Mercury News*, February 7, 2007; "Lufthansa Daily Flights between Frankfurt,

by the engineers and computer programmers who sustained Silicon Valley's transformation from orchards to office parks. Many of those engineers were immigrants from India and China. One memoirist reflected on this change after he had spent his childhood in Sunnyvale, a suburb next to San Jose, during the 1960s and 1970s. Upon returning to his boyhood home, he observed that his old neighborhood was "unrecognizable. The pale-faced aerospace engineers are long gone, replaced by recent immigrants from Iran, Hong Kong, India, Taiwan, Russia, Israel, and who knows where else, all drawn here by the smell of money and the promise of a bright future."[161]

These engineers not only traveled back and forth between the two nations for their work, but they also found amenities that were increasingly similar from place to place. Indian cities began to develop suburban office parks in the 1990s that were similar to those that had originated in Silicon Valley.[162] Bangalore, a city in southern India, soon had a large configuration of these parks, and other cities followed suit. Gurgaon, a suburb outside New Delhi, took on American business investment and built malls where one could buy American-style goods. One Indian engineer was "apprehensive at first" about returning to Gurgaon after having lived in California for eight years, but he could work out in a gym, eat pizza, and watch a movie all near his home. Though he could partake in some of the goods he had come to like in America, when he stepped outside his house, he

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Chennai," *Rediff India Abroad*, November 5, 2003, http://www.rediff.com/money/2003/nov/05luft.htm (accessed January 17, 2008).

[161] Jeff Goodell, *Sunnyvale* (New York: Villard, 2000), 249; See also, Jeff Goodell, "The Venture Capitalist in my Bedroom," *New York Times*, May 28, 2000.

[162] Stanford Industrial Park was the first of these in 1951, using the intellectual capital of the university and the venture capital of San Francisco to fund new electronics firms. Other Silicon Valley copies emerged in Seattle, Austin, and Raleigh-Durham, as well as cities abroad. See Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 61-64; Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 146-59.

was in India again, curing any homesickness he had felt when in California.[163] The international reach of Gurgaon was not limited to U.S.-India interactions. A textile factory in the city was poised to take advantage of a trade quota lifted in 2005 that would put it and many Chinese factories at an advantage in the marketplace.[164] Gurgaon was connected to both the old Indian economy of textiles and the new Indian economy of computers, merging facets of Indian and American consumer culture along the way.

Connections such as this between the Bay Area and India raised a question about the distinctiveness of each region. To make matters more complicated, sameness often belied diversity, just as diversity sometimes covered up sameness. Scratch below the surface, and one might reveal itself in place of the other. One 1994 guidebook said that "at first glance, San Jose may look like the fast-food franchise capital of California, but along the major thoroughfares you'll discover an appealing cross section of reasonably priced Mexican, Asian, and Italian restaurants."[165] It was up to the reader to find them, for the guide listed only four restaurants for the city, even though it had a larger population than San Francisco by that time. Most tour guides paid little heed to San Jose. Even by the time San Jose was well established as the center of the information economy,

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[163] The engineer was Satish Reddy, quoted in Majumder, "U.S. Companies Eye Indian Skills," *BBC News*, March 2, 2006. Accenture was one American company that located an office in Gurgaon. See "Accenture Opens New Delivery Center in Gurgaon, India," *Expansion Management Magazine*, May 8, 2007, at http://www.expansionmanagement.com/cmd/articledetail/articleid/18697/default.asp (accessed January 25, 2008).

[164] Kaushik Basu, "Winners and Losers in Textile Shake-up," *BBC News*, March 2, 2005, at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/4294679.stm (accessed January 25, 2008). The textile company was Orient Craft, one of the largest textile exporters in India. It and Chinese companies were at an advantage because they could combine modern facilities and low labor costs unlike competing manufacturers in El Salvador and the Dominican Republic.

[165] *Fodor's 94 San Francisco*, 218-19.

the Frommer's online guide listed 110 restaurants for San Francisco, but only two for San Jose.[166]

Searching for Authentic Chinese Food in the Suburbs

Though San Jose and other Bay Area suburbs were not prominent in many guidebooks, the suburbs slowly became the place that many Americans searched for authentic foods from afar. Among the most prominent was Chinese food, and Chinese immigrants were emblematic of the changes globalization wrought on the suburbs. In the post-1960s period, suburban areas increasingly drove the American and global economy. Companies that had once located in downtown offices in New York or San Francisco instead set up shop in office parks outside those cities, in Greenwich, Connecticut, or Palo Alto, California. "Edge City," "Exurb," and "Boomburb" all came into the lexicon as places where office parks, malls, and parking lots dominated the landscape.[167] At the same time, immigrants came from India and China and other nations to work and live in those suburbs. The Chinese had long been among the largest and most important

[166] Frommer's, "San Jose, CA Restaurants," http://www.frommers.com/destinations/sanjoseca/1064_inddin.html (accessed February 9, 2008); Frommer's, "San Francisco Restaurants," http://www.frommers.com/destinations/sanfrancisco/29_inddin.html (accessed February 9, 2008).

[167] Between 1974 and 1996, employment in the business services sector in the New York City region moved from the center city to the suburbs. In 1974, 42.7 percent of employment in this sector was located in the suburbs, and by 1996 that number had jumped to 63.3 percent. See Peter O. Muller, "The Suburban Transformation of the Globalizing American City," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 551, Globalization and the Changing U.S. City (1997): 55. Edge City comes from Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*, (New York: Anchor, 1991). Boomburb is from Robert E. Lang and Patrick A. Simmons, "'Boomburbs': The Emergence of Large, Fast-Growing Suburban Cities in the United States," Fannie Mae Foundation Census Note 06 (June 2001) http://www.fanniemaefoundation.org/programs/census_notes_6.shtml (accessed September 3, 2006). Exurb originated in the 1950s as a suburb that was on the outer limits, but came to mean the fringes where commuters returned after work in the city. Later, they were business centers unto themselves. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., online, s.v. "Exurbia."

immigrant groups to San Francisco. After the 1960s, Bay Area suburbs became a large settlement point for Chinese. Suburbs such as Millbrae, Milpitas, and Fremont became known as places where one could get Chinese food that was as good as any to be found in San Francisco. At the same time that authentic Chinese food moved to the suburbs, Chinese chain restaurants grew, including those that served Chinese fast food. These chains headquartered in the suburbs and became a fixture of the strip mall culture there.

The fact that standard tour guides paid little attention to San Jose and other suburban and residential areas of major cities prompted many writers to see if they could find and describe authentic ethnic food experiences outside of central cities. These writers reflected the fact that ethnic diversity had come to the suburbs. The San Gabriel Valley east of Los Angeles, and the Queens borough of New York were two places oft mentioned.[168] The San Gabriel suburbs were regularly featured in the *New York Times* as *the* place for Chinese food when visiting Los Angeles. R.W. Apple, Jr., the longtime reporter and food savant for the *Times,* enthusiastically wrote about the L.A. suburbs in "An Asian Odyssey, Seconds from the Freeway," explaining,

> The foods of Korea, Thailand and Vietnam, Shanghai, Taipei and Tokyo, pour from a thousand kitchens in astonishing abundance, from holes in the wall and coffee shops and strip-mall dining rooms in burgs with names like Gardena and Arcadia and Alhambra. Because most of the chefs, like most of the customers, are relatively recent arrivals from Asia, the dishes

[168] Calvin Trillin wrote an article about the enthusiasm for Queens by the writers on www.chowhound.com. See "New Grub Streets," *The New Yorker*, September 3, 2001. Though the Manhattan Chinatown remains vibrant, many Chinese moved to Brooklyn and Queens when rents got high in Manhattan, causing some food writers to argue that "real" Chinese food is best had in the outer boroughs. On New York Chinatown's changes, see Andrew J. Peterson, "The Development of a New Chinatown: Post-1965 Changes in New York City's Chinatown" in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives 1995* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1995), 199-214. On changes to Chinese food culture in New York and other cities, Bruce Cost, Founder of Big Bowl and Wow Bao restaurants, Interview with the Author, October 28, 2006, in Chicago, IL.

> they serve retain the true tastes and the modest prices of their homelands.[169]

The article's title evoked the idea that it was quite remarkable that one could find the best and most authentic foods next to a suburban freeway. Another *New York Times* article asked why bad Chinese food prevailed around the country, concluding that the remedy lie in tapping into the recent arrivals from China who had settled in Queens and the San Gabriel Valley. Americans just had to be willing to venture to the outer boroughs and suburbs for the authentic foods.[170]

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The ability to find authentic Chinese food in the suburbs at the beginning of the twenty-first century was made possible by three trends that had begun in the 1960s. First, Chinese immigration increased dramatically after 1965. Between 1961 and 2000, China was the third largest source of immigrants to the United States, trailing only Mexico and the Philippines. Around 1.3 million immigrants came from greater China, which included the mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.[171] Second, largely as a result of the influx of these immigrants, Chinese food was awakened from its chop suey stupor. Third, a large

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[169] R.W. Apple, Jr., "An Asian Odyssey, Seconds from the Freeway," *New York Times*, April 17, 2002.
[170] Nicole Mones, "Double Happiness," *New York Times*, August 5, 2007.
[171] The number of immigrants to the United States between 1961 and 2000 from only China and Taiwan, as counted by the Immigration and Naturalization service, was 924,951. The INS counts Hong Kong separately, which sent 396,468 immigrants to the United States during that period. I combined the totals for China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong together, meaning there were 1,321,419 immigrants from greater China, placing it third among sending countries. Without counting Hong Kong, China sent the fourth largest number of immigrants. Mexico sent 4,999,495 migrants to the U.S. in the same period, the Philippines 1,506,072, and Canada and Newfoundland 932,174. See INS, "2001 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Tables Only," 6-9. Ethnic Chinese also migrated from other countries in large numbers, such as Canada and Vietnam. See Daniels, *Coming to America*, 353.

proportion of Chinese Americans moved to the suburbs for the first time, just as other immigrants and native-born minorities did the same. By 2000, both a majority of Asian Americans and a majority of immigrants lived in the suburbs (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1:
2000 Population by Area of Residence, in percent

	Urban	Suburban	Rural
Immigrants	47	48	5
Native-Born	28	51	21
Non-Hispanic White	22	53	22
Hispanic	48	44	8
Asian American	45	51	4
Black	55	31	14

Source: Michael Jones-Correa, "Reshaping the American Dream: Immigrants, Ethnic Minorities, and the Politics of the New Suburbs," in Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue, eds., *The New Suburban History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 184.

A large number of the suburb-dwelling Asian Americans lived in the Bay Area and southern California. The Bay Area had been the center of Chinese American culture since the Gold Rush, and had long been a major site for connections to other parts of Asia.[172] As had always been the case, Asians lived in largest numbers in the West coast at the end of the twentieth century. About 49 percent of those identifying as Asian lived in the Western states, with California by far having the largest number, or 4.2 million out of the state's 33.8 million people. That made the Golden State's population about 12 percent Asian, compared to only around 4 percent nationwide. Three of the four largest cities in the Bay Area – San Jose, San Francisco, and Fremont – counted over a quarter of their

[172] Chen, *Chinese San Francisco*.

population as Asian.[173] Finally, although Los Angeles and New York have large ethnic Chinese populations, Bay Area counties still contained the largest percentage in the nation. In 2000, Chinese Americans composed over five percent of the population in just seven counties in the United States; the top four were all in the Bay Area.[174]

[173] Barnes and Bennett, *The Asian Population: 2000*, 1-9.
[174] *The Asian Databook*, 1735, 1777. This number combines those listed as Chinese and Taiwanese. The Bay Area counties were San Francisco, Alameda, San Mateo, and Santa Clara.

Table 4.2: Growth of Bay Area Chinese Population, 1980-2000			
	1980	**1990**	**2000**
Bay Area Total Population	5,179,784	6,023,577	6,783,760
Bay Area Chinese Population	168,320	324,266	468,736
Chinese Population as a Percentage of Bay Area Population	3.2	5.3	6.9

Source: Viviano, "A Rich Ethnic Mix in the Suburbs," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 11, 1991;Wong, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley*, 3-4.

Table 4.3: Chinese Population by County, San Francisco Bay Area, 2000			
County	**Overall Population**	**Chinese Population**	**Percent Chinese Population, by County**
San Francisco	776,733	152,620	19.6
Santa Clara	1,682,585	115,781	6.8
Alameda	1,443,741	112,006	7.7
San Mateo	707,161	48,996	6.9
Contra Costa	948,816	28,948	3.0
Marin	247,289	3,523	1.4
Solano	394,542	3,318	0.8
Sonoma	458,614	3,007	0.6
Napa	124,279	537	0.4
Total	**6,783,760**	**468,736**	**6.9**

Source: "Fact Sheets, Census 2000 Demographic Profile Highlights: Selected Population Group: Chinese Alone," for California Counties of Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Solano, and Sonoma, U.S. Census Bureau, American FactFinder, at http://factfinder.census.gov (accessed February 29, 2008). Santa Clara County was home to San Jose, Sunnyvale, Cupertino, and Milpitas, all cities with large Chinese populations. Alameda County contains Oakland, Fremont, and San Leandro with large Chinese populations. Millbrae, Hillsborough, and Daly City in San Mateo County had large Chinese populations as well. See *Asian Databook*, 1733-35.

In the context of surging Asian immigration, Chinese food in the United States changed. First, it diversified as a new era of Chinese restaurants came about. Americans ate not just Cantonese-derived foods, but the wide range of Chinese cuisine coming from the vast regions of the country. Grocery stores also carried more Chinese and other Asian foods, even though most stores had long included a separate section for Chinese or "Oriental" selections. Lastly, Chinese food went to the suburbs along with Chinese immigrants, making those outlying areas the driving force for Chinese food in America. In its march to the suburbs, it also became homogenized for the second time during this era, as more Americans partook of it. In an era in which China became one of the United States' most important trading partners, the connections stringing together Chinese and American business owners, Chinese and American consumers, and Chinese Americans to other Americans all came together in the search for authentic Chinese food in the suburbs. For these reasons, Bay Area suburbs are examined here to see how the search for authentic ethnic cuisines – in this case Chinese – moved to the suburbs after the 1960s.

Chinese Food in America Before the 1960s: Chop Suey in Chinatown and Beyond

Chinese food had been eaten widely in the United States since the early 1900s. Before examining its move to the suburbs, one must see its popularization from Chinatown outward, beginning in the early 1900s. After several decades in which anti-Chinese sentiment mostly meant Americans shunned Chinese food, Chinese restaurateurs

came to sell more food to non-Chinese after the turn of the century.[175] Chinese restaurants had begun sprouting in many cities with sizeable Chinese populations, such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York. In San Francisco, Chinatown became a major tourist site after the 1906 earthquake, for the disaster provided an unexpected opportunity for local business leaders to clean up its image. While non-Chinese had come to pre-earthquake San Francisco, a good number were drunken, brawling men who came to either gawk at, or participate in the opium trade, brothels and gang activity that flourished there. After the earthquake, Chinese-American restaurateurs and other business owners deliberately sought to change Chinatown's image and attract the business of respectable, non-Chinese tourists who wanted a taste of Chinese culture, including food.[176] By the 1930s, anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States slowly began to subside. One major influence was Pearl S. Buck's 1931 novel *The Good Earth*, which sold over two million copies. When it was turned into a movie in 1937, another 23

[175] On the early history of Chinese food in the United States, see Netta Davis, "To Serve the 'Other': Chinese American Immigrants in the Restaurant Business," *Journal for the Study of Food and Society* 6.1 (2002): 71; Jacqueline M. Newman, "Chinese American Food," in Andrew Smith, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink in America,* vol. 1 (New York: Oxford, 2004), 235; Chi Kien Lao, "The Chinese Restaurant Industry in the United States: Its History, Development and Future," (master's thesis, Cornell University, 1975). The prejudice against the Chinese in the late 1800s was accompanied by a prejudice against their food too. See Alexander Young, "Chinese Food and Cookery," (Unknown magazine, dated 1872) in HML, Carton 54:17, Food and Cooking, Chinese Food in the U.S., 1870-1987, 2001; "Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration," *S. Rept. 689*, 44 Cong., 2 sess. (1877); Luther W. Spoehr, "Sambo and the Heathen Chinee: Californians' Racial Stereotypes in the Late 1870s," *The Pacific Historical Review* 42.2 (1973): 190-91; Roberts, *China to Chinatown*, 144-45; James Chan, "Rough on Rats: Racism and Advertising in the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century," Daniel K.E. Ching Collection Conference Excerpt, at http://www.chsa.org/research/ching_conference_excerpt.php (accessed September 13, 2006). These trade cards were circulated from the 1870s to the 1890s and were distributed in both stores and by mail. The 1890s was the low point for the wider acceptance of Chinese food by the American public.

[176] Chen, *Chinese San Francisco*, 64-69, 90-92, 186-87, 196-99; Ivan Light, "From Vice District to Tourist Attraction: The Moral Career of American Chinatowns, 1880-1940, *The Pacific Historical Review* 43.3 (1974): 367-94; Roberts, *China to Chinatown*, 144-55; Samantha Barbas, "'I'll Take Chop Suey': Restaurants as Agents of Culinary and Cultural Change," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 36.4 (2003): 669-79.

million Americans saw her positive depiction of the Chinese people. At the same time, China and the United States were to become war allies against Japan, spurring positive sentiment for the Chinese.[177]

Beginning in the 1930s and 1940s, supermarkets in many parts of the United States stocked Chinese or Oriental food sections – long before Chinese cuisine diversified. These sections typically took up a quarter or a fifth of one side of a supermarket aisle, where canned, bottled, and packaged noodles, water chestnuts, soy sauce, sesame oil, and other foodstuffs were displayed. Over time, the frozen foods aisles of the regular supermarket also carried Chinese foods.[178] The La Choy and Chun King companies were among the two largest popularizers of these foods. La Choy had originated in Detroit in the 1920s, and Chun King in Minnesota in 1947 – neither cities were centers of Chinese-American culture at the time. La Choy made canned noodle dishes and sauces, and also packaged some of the harder to find ingredients used in

[177] Isaacs, *Images of Asia*, 155-58.

[178] *Progressive Grocer* ran a "store of the month" feature for many years that showed an architectural diagram of a store's layout. From examining these layouts in the 1960s and 1970s, one can see that many stores had sections described as Chinese or Oriental. Additionally, Chinese frozen foods were a standard by this time. A report in 1970 said that Spanish, Italian, Jewish and Chinese foods," were "now standard" at the time and that a new "international foods" frozen section might be needed in the future. "37th Annual Report: What Super Markets Will Sell in the 1970s," *Progressive Grocer*, April 1970, 149. For architectural layouts, see Leonard Daykin, "Randall's Super is Houston's Newest 'Tranquility' Base," *Progressive Grocer*, February 1970, 122-32; Ralph's Newest Scores Success in Los Angeles" *Progressive Grocer*, August 1970, 92-104. Another showed Martin's Super Market in Elkhart, IN, with a Chinese section of about 12 feet between the diet and convenience sections, Gerry Beatty, "Tight Scheduling Makes Martin's More Productive," *Progressive Grocer*, February 1975; On a store in Dallas, TX, Joseph Coyle, "A Big Bright Bid for the Young Consumer," *Progressive Grocer*, June 1971, 70-78.

Chinese cooking. It later moved into the frozen foods business after Chun King made great profit on Chinese foods.[179]

As La Choy and Chun King prospered, Chinatowns became well-known tourist spots. The most famous was San Francisco's.[180] One Visitor's Bureau pamphlet was devoted to the "unusual fare that awaits you," including the food. If you could find the unusual fare, however, you had to look hard – the pamphlet's cover featured a crude drawing of a Chinatown street with a marquee listing "CHOP SUEY" in front of one shop.[181] By then, even if Americans were eating chop suey, an Americanized version of Chinese food, they were eating a lot of it. Around 6,000 Chinese restaurants dotted the country in 1960, with the largest number concentrated in California and New York, but also a smattering from city to town in between.[182]

Chinese Food's Second Coming in America

If chop suey was the lingua franca of Chinese food in 1960, that was slowly changing – to be replaced by stir-fry, pot-sticker, and kung pao in the 1970s. Joyce Chen, who some called the "Chinese Julia Child," first appeared in a PBS cooking show in

[179] Barbas, "'I'll Take Chop Suey,'" 677-81; Roberts, *China to Chinatown*, 199; Madeline Y. Hsu, "From Chop Suey to Mandarin Cuisine: Fine Dining and the Refashioning of Chinese Ethnicity during the Cold War Era," http://www.instrcc.ubc.ca/History485_2008/Hsu.pdf (accessed February 18, 2008), 15.
[180] Some of the old images of the dangerous Chinese remained through the 1950s – one pamphlet produced by the city's Visitor's Bureau advised that Chinatown was not dangerous, despite the "narrow streets and dark alleys," and that the residents are "peaceful, law-abiding American Chinese," San Francisco Convention and Visitor's Bureau, "Chinatown," Pamphlet, 1959, OAK, VF-San Francisco County – 1951 (I). A typical walk through San Francisco's Chinatown could be found in Vincent McHugh, "San Francisco: Little China," *Holiday*, April 1961.
[181] San Francisco Convention and Visitor's Bureau, "Chinatown," 1959.
[182] Roberts, *China to Chinatown*, 164.

1968, continuing her success at her Cambridge, Massachusetts, restaurant.[183] Chen used authenticity as a selling point in her "highly influential cooking conglomerate" consisting of her cookbooks, television show, mail order foods, and restaurant.[184] Around the same time, *New York Times* food editor Craig Claiborne published *The Chinese Cookbook* with Virginia Lee, a New York Chinese cooking instructor, to much success.[185] Cecilia Chiang was another key figure, operating The Mandarin restaurant in San Francisco's Ghirardelli Square between the 1960s and 1990s. It attracted tourists, celebrities, and politicians who tasted her Northern Chinese dishes in an elegant setting. Chiang also made claims of the authentic, serving Northern Chinese food at a time that only Cantonese was widely known in San Francisco.[186] And Martin Yan starred in his first television show, "Yan Can Cook" on PBS in 1978, keeping his face on television screens and cookbook dust jackets for thirty years after.[187] By 1980, the number of Chinese restaurants in the United States

[183] Gerry Schremp, *Celebration of American Food: Four Centuries in the Melting Pot* (Golden: Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 1996), 101; "Joyce Chen Foods," at http://www.joycechenfoods.com/ (accessed February 20, 2008).
[184] Malinda Lo, "'Authentic' Chinese Food: Chinese American Cookbooks and the Regulation of Ethnic Identity," paper presented at the Association for Asian American Studies, March 2001, http://www.malindalo.com/chinesefood.htm (accessed March 23, 2007), 8.
[185] Craig Claiborne and Virginia Lee, *The Chinese Cookbook* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1972).
[186] Chiang opened the Mandarin on Polk Street in 1961, moving to a Ghirardelli Square location in 1968. She garnered a favorable mention by Herb Caen in his *San Francisco Chronicle* column early in the restaurant's existence and entertained crowds at both locations for 30 years, selling her stake in 1991 (it remained, but under new owners). Danny Kaye was among the famous friends of Chiang, and he took an avid interest in Chinese food, building a kitchen in his own home outfitted with many Chinese cooking devices. See Cecilia Sun Yun Chiang, *The Mandarin Way*, rev. and expanded edition (as told to Allan Carr) (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1980), vii-xi, 265-73; "Cecilia Sun Yun Chiang," http://www.asianpacificfund.org/awards/bio_chiang.shtml (accessed September 28, 2006); Cecilia Chiang, interview with the author, Belvedere, CA, October 11, 2006; Janet Fletcher, "An Epic Journey," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 24, 2007. R.W. Apple, Jr., the longtime writer for the *New York Times* explained how he first tasted minced squab wrapped in lettuce cups, one of the Mandarin's signature dishes, in its early days, in "An Asian Odyssey, Seconds from the Freeway," *New York Times*, April 17, 2002. The dish would remain popular on the menu at P.F. Chang's China Bistro, the restaurant chain founded by Cecilia Chiang's son, Philip, in 1993.
[187] Amanda Gold, "Martin Yan's Can-Do Attitude," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 20, 2008.

had grown to 7,796, or 29 percent of all those ethnic and regional restaurants listed in telephone directories. That year, another 412 were listed as "Polynesian Chinese," reflecting the popularity of the Trader Vic's restaurants and the associated Tiki lounge phenomenon.[188] By 1996, one study found around 20,000 Chinese restaurants in the United States.[189]

Chinese food in grocery stores also changed over time. Although the stores had long carried canned, boxed, and frozen Chinese food, there was something inauthentic about this to many American consumers, including the new immigrants from China. One reason was the way food was prepared in China. Without refrigeration in many areas, eating local foods was a necessity. Many families there bought fresh produce, fish, or meat once or twice a day, rather than in a once or twice a week cycle that Americans were accustomed to.[190] This privileged fresh foods brought from nearby farms. Changes in global trade brought the two mentalities together, as Chinese produce items became available in everyday American supermarkets. Many were grown abroad – in Mexico or even in Asia, but many were also planted on American farms – especially to supply the

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[188] Roberts, *China to Chinatown*, 165-66; The Polynesian/Chinese connection was put into place by Victor Bergeron, the owner of the Trader Vic's restaurants that had begun in Oakland in 1934. He opened a location in San Francisco in 1951, later operating dozens around the world. He used a Chinese oven to cook many foods, and employed Chinese chefs at most of his restaurants, serving a mélange of Asian and Polynesian foods and drinks. Many restaurants followed suit. Other popular culture influences, such as the musical *South Pacific*, made these places popular. See "South Sea Isle Trading Post Becomes Popular," *Oakland Tribune*, 1940 (day unknown), and "New Home, New Ear for Trader Vic's," *Oakland Tribune*, November 23, 1972 in OAK, Folder, Oakland, Restaurants, M-Z; Pat Steger, "Raising a Glass to the Last Mai Tai," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 25, 1994.

[189] Charles F. Tang, with Robert Goldberg, "Chinese Restaurants Abroad," *Flavor and Fortune* 3.4 (1996) at http://www.flavorandfortune.com/dataaccess/article.php?ID=87 (accessed January 27, 2007).

[190] Bruce Cost, Owner and Founder, Big Bowl and Wow Bao Restaurants, interview with the author, October 28, 2006, Chicago, IL.

California market.[191] One newspaper article explained that by the early 1990s in the Bay Area, "even the neighborhood Safeway carries a wide range of vegetables that, sadly, Archie Bunker and the family of Beaver Cleaver would have never found on their plates."[192] This was because the "agricultural, culinary, and business communities have conspired to fill markets with dozens of vegetable varieties once common only to Asian countries."[193] This "metamorphosis" was responsible for "busting the homogeneity of produce in the United States."[194]

Another sort of sameness busting was going on too. Because the early immigrants from China had mostly come from the South, the American version of Chinese food was an improvisation on Cantonese dishes for the American palate.[195] China's foods are much more diverse though – the country can be divided into about four or five major culinary regions, each having their peculiarities of geography and culture. One observer counted four regions, with the Northern cuisine centered in Beijing, the eastern cuisine centered in Shanghai and the lower Yangtze, the western cuisine associated with Sichuan province, and the southern cuisine from Canton or Guangdong.[196] Other observers referred to the traditional divisions that many Chinese speak of in their cuisines, in which there are at

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[191] See Leung and Waters, "Chinese Vegetable Farming," in *Origins and Destinations*, 437-52; Paulo Ho, interview with the author, July 20, 2006.
[192] Joyce Gemperlein, *San Jose Mercury News*, "Asian Vegetables Hit Markets," February 5, 1992.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Immigration continues from the Southern areas in large numbers, but there are more immigrants to the United States in recent years from other parts of China. See Wong, *Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship*, 9-15. Before 1965, the largest number of Chinese immigrants were from the Taishan area of Guangdong Province. The commercial connections between the United States and China were strongest there, leading to significant migration from that area. See Chen, *Chinese San Francisco*, 11-48. Madeline Y. Hsu found that the majority of Chinese immigrants in the United States before 1960 came from Taishan province. See *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home*, 3.
[196] Roberts, *China to Chinatown*, 23

least five principal or "great" ones.[197] They are the Szechwan, Canton, Fukien, Shantung, and Hunan traditions, which "are supposedly characterized by flavors: Szechwanese or Hunan-Szechwan food is hot with chilies; Cantonese runs to sweet and sweet-sour dishes; Fukien is most distinctively characterized by its soups; Shantung is the home of sea foods, garlic, and the most venerable skills; Hunan is famous for sweet-sour freshwater fish."[198] Of course, each area has subspecialties and nuances, and one could list additional types – including, for example, the foods of the western region near Kyrgyzstan. Even, rice, associated indelibly with Chinese food in America, is the staple only in the South. In the North, wheat and millet are the base grains.[199]

All these foods were called, very simply, "Chinese" by most Americans until about the 1960s. It was then that some restaurateurs began delineating the specific type of Chinese food they served, offering authentic foods that were juxtaposed with the Cantonese-derived foods that had predominated in the Chinatowns and beyond. Cecilia Chiang was one who served many non-Cantonese Chinese foods at The Mandarin restaurant. In the 1960s, when she first offered foods from the North, Shanghai, and other regions, she was one of only a few that strayed from the chop suey convention that held in most Chinese restaurants in a city "familiar only with faux Cantonese."[200] Another regional cuisine, Hunanese, became known in New York and San Francisco in the 1970s,

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[197] E.N. Anderson, Jr., and Marja L. Anderson, "Modern China: South," in K.C. Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 353-55. See also Lao, "The Chinese Restaurant Industry in the United States," 25-30.
[198] Ibid, 354.
[199] Ibid, 321-26. Pork was the most widely eaten meat. See also Jack Goody, *Cooking Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 106.
[200] Quote from Janet Fletcher, "Cecilia Chiang's Epic Journey," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 24, 2007; Cecilia Chiang, *Cecilia Chiang: An Oral History*, conducted by Victor Geraci, Ph.D., 2005-2006, Regional Oral History Office, BANC, 102-05, 123-24.

partly due to the popularity of a signature dish, General Tso's chicken, which was supposed to be derived from a Hunan recipe. Henry Chung in San Francisco and Peng Chang-kuei in New York each operated Hunan restaurants in the 1970s that garnered acclaim nationwide. In a bit, or fit, of hyperbole, the *New Yorker* called Chung's Hunan Restaurant the "best Chinese restaurant in the world."[201]

Suburban dining on Chinese food reflected the fact that Americans were coming to know the many Chinese regions in the 1970s and 1980s. A typical article of the time proclaimed the enjoyment to be had by eating at a Chinese restaurant that offered non-Cantonese foods and even better, could cook the foods of many regions in China. Joseph Izzo, Jr., was a food writer for the *San Jose Mercury News* in the 1980s and in a number of articles he described Chinese restaurants that did something different than those of old. In a typical review, he said,

> Don't expect typical Chinese food at Foo Loo Soo. The menu draws from not one province but nearly all the provinces representing culinary Mainland China. The styles are unlimited, featuring dishes from Szechwan, Junan, Peking, Mandarin, Taiwan, and Canton. The chef creates gourmet interest by utilizing spices uncommon to the Americanized understanding of Chinese food. Don't be surprised if you taste anise or the sweet lacing of white wine or the pickled tartness of mustard greens.[202]

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[201] The *New Yorker* line is repeated in a proclamation by San Francisco Mayor George R. Moscone on January 26, 1977, to "salute the proprietors of the Hunan Restaurant" on that day. The proclamation made note of the food's "unique combination of seasonings." See Office of the Mayor, George R. Moscone, San Francisco, "Proclamation," January 26, 1977 in SFHC, VF-Restaurants, Folder, Hunan Restaurant. In that same folder, see also Henry W.S. & Diana Chung, "My Country & My People: Introducing Hunan, China"; Menu, Hunan Restaurant (undated); "Hot Hunan," *Sunset*, October 1976. See also Harvey Steinman, "Hunan Food is More than Hot and Spicy," San Francisco Examiner, August 16, 1978. On General Tso's Chicken, see Fuchsia Dunlop, "Hunan Resources," *New York Times*, February 4, 2007.

[202] Joseph Izzo, Jr., "Good Fortune Foretold at the New Foo Loo Soo," *San Jose Mercury News*, April 25, 1982.

In another article he emphasized that Chinese food was still generally stuck in a homogenized mode at Bay Area restaurants, but that there was an "uncommon gourmet quality to the fare that sets Ging Jee/Yet Wah apart from other Chinese establishments."[203] This local chain of Chinese restaurants had expanded from its origins in 1969 in San Francisco out to the suburbs of the Bay Area over the years, managing locations that served tourists, Bay Area Chinese Americans, and everyone in-between.[204] By the 1980s, many Bay Area guidebooks distinguished the specific type of Chinese cuisine one would get at different Chinese restaurants, listing them under Hunan, Szechuan, Cantonese, and the like.[205]

Many Chinese were able to move to the suburbs because of their relatively high income and education levels. From the 1960s forward, Chinese immigrants came to be seen by the wider American public as part of the "model minority." This stereotype had its roots in a 1966 *New York Times* article about Japanese Americans, and by the 1980s it had encompassed all Asian Americans. During the 1980s, *Time* and *Newsweek* each ran

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[203] Joseph Izzo, Jr., "Rare Gourmet Quality Pops up at Ging Jee," *San Jose Mercury News*, June 19, 1983.
[204] Bill Chan and Stephen Rich, *The Yet Wah Story* (Burlingame, CA: Advanced Pub., 1989), 39-51, in SFHC.
[205] One typical guide listed eight Chinese restaurants in San Francisco, variously under Cantonese, Hunan, Peking, and dim sum. See *Where San Francisco*, May 7-20, 1983, OAK, VF, San Francisco County – 1951 – (V); Another had 24 Chinese restaurants, the most of any category after American, with 33 listed. There were another 23 for Continental and 23 for French. The restaurants that qualified as Chinese were described as "Chinese – all regions," "Cantonese," "Cantonese and Hunan," "Cantonese/Mandarin," "Cantonese/Mandarin/Dim Sum," "North Chinese," "Peking, Szechuan, and Shanghai," "Deem Sum," and "Mandarin." See San Francisco Convention and Visitor's Bureau, Pamphlet, *San Francisco Restaurant and Night Life Guide,* May 1984, OAK, VF, San Francisco County -1951 – (II). The brochure for the annual convention of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, meeting in San Francisco in 1990, also delineated the specific regions of China represented in restaurants. Brochure, *TESOL*, 1990, OAK, VF, San Francisco County – 1951 – (V); See also Ken Wong, "Chinatown Change," *San Francisco Examiner*, August 29, 1984.

cover stories about bright, successful Asian Americans in the United States.[206] Most importantly, the model minority stereotype was sustained by the high number of Asian Americans at the nation's best universities and in the most prestigious professions. The halls of UC Berkeley, Harvard, and Cal Tech were filled with young Asian American students, many who had attended wealthy suburban high schools.[207] Some of the restaurants that sustained these wealthy Chinese Americans were grand, for they had the money to pay for it. This was one major change – high-priced Chinese food served in the suburbs to Chinese immigrants – a phenomenon that did not exist in the pre-1960s era. And whether or not the most expensive food was to be had in the suburbs, many argued that the most authentic was.

Authentic Chinese Food in the American Suburbs

The convergence of two seemingly incompatible monikers – homogenized and authentic Chinese food – could be found in the 99 Ranches and strip malls of the suburbs. In the 1940s and 1950s, Chinese Americans had begun to move in greater numbers to the outer boroughs and suburbs of major American cities.[208] Chinese restaurants followed. By 1973 a directory for the New York region listed more Chinese restaurants for Queens

[206] William Peterson, "Success Story, Japanese-American Style," *New York Times*, January 9, 1966; "Asian Americans: A Model Minority," *Newsweek*, December 6, 1982, 39-44; David Brand, "The New Whiz Kids," *Time*, August 31, 1987.
[207] In 2000, 47 percent of ethnic Chinese in the United States who were 25 years or older held a 4-year degree. The ratio was 67.11 percent for those who marked Taiwanese. For Asian Americans overall, 44 percent had a four-year degree. For the American population as a whole, the figure was 24.4 percent. *The Asian Databook*, 965. See also Brand, "The New Whiz Kids," *Time*, August 31, 1987.
[208] Cindy I-Fen Cheng, "Out of Chinatown and into the Suburbs: Chinese Americans and the Politics of Cultural Citizenship in Early Cold War America," *American Quarterly* 58.4 (2006): 1074.

and Long Island than for Manhattan.[209] By the 1980s, more than egg rolls were served in the suburbs of San Francisco, Los Angeles, or New York. In Millbrae, just south of San Francisco, Alice Wong opened a Hong Kong-style restaurant in 1984, spawning two other branches and several copycats that all demonstrated "the growing market for high-quality Chinese cuisine" at the time.[210] Wong's Hong Kong Flower Lounge was a "spinoff of a well-known Hong Kong restaurant" and served "what some consider the best Cantonese food in this country."[211] Adjacent to San Francisco International Airport, Millbrae was a convenient place for travelers on layovers to and from Asia to have a meal. It and surrounding suburbs were also home to many wealthy Chinese families, including those who crossed back and forth from Hong Kong.[212] The menu of another Hong Kong style restaurant in Millbrae prominently showed SFO on its map, advertised its other locations in Singapore and Kowloon, and listed expensive banquet dinners replete with shark's fin soup for wealthy diners.[213]

In one widely publicized case during the 1950s, racial prejudice had barred a Chinese family from moving to the suburb of South San Francisco but this was no longer

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[209] Chinese American Restaurant Association of Greater New York, *Directory, 1973*, in HML 93:15, Him Mark Lai Papers, Research Files, Restaurants, Organizations, Chinese American Restaurant Association of Greater New York, Inc., 1973. The directory had the following totals for each region: Queens and Long Island: 326, Manhattan: 321, Brooklyn: 202, New Jersey: 110, Bronx: 82, Westchester: 32, Staten Island: 15.
[210] Patricia Unterman, "East Comes West," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 30, 1991.
[211] Quote from Ken Hom, "The Road to Canton," *New York Times*, June 5, 1988; Also see Patricia Unterman "Bay's Best Cantonese Place Bigger, Better," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 10, 1989. Another restaurant that had branches in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Australia, and Millbrae was Fook Yuen. See Michael Bauer, "Top 100 Bay Area Restaurants," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 3, 2002.
[212] On the presence of wealthy Chinese in the Bay Area suburbs, see Wong, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley*, 30-41. Shenglin Chang illustrates how Taiwanese Americans, many of them wealthy, cross back and forth between Taiwan and the United States, *The Global Silicon Valley Home,* 107-114.
[213] Menu, Hong Kong Fook Yuen Seafood Restaurant, Millbrae, CA, 1988, CCSF, Folder, Calif – San Francisco, H-L.

an issue after a couple decades.[214] The suburbs surrounding San Francisco counted hundreds of thousands of ethnic Chinese and other Asian families by the 1980s and 1990s.[215] Growth in the Bay Area's Chinese population in specific, and Asian population in general, were responsible for the appearance of restaurants such as those specializing in Hong Kong style food. From 1980 to 1990, the Chinese population of the nine-county Bay Area roughly doubled from 168,320 to 324,266. In the next ten years, it jumped again, totaling 468,736 people in 2000, or just under 7 percent of the region's total population of 6,783,760. In contrast, Chinese composed only about 0.8 percent of the overall U.S. population.[216] A large proportion of Chinese Americans lived in the Bay Area suburbs, with Santa Clara County and Alameda County, home to much of the region's growth, counting large numbers of Chinese (see Tables 2 and 3).[217] As one commentator noted, the "familiar image of distressed, nonwhite, declining core cities surrounded by white suburbs simply doesn't apply to the Bay Area."[218] The cities and suburbs were both diverse, and in the 1980s and 1990s, boomed from the success of the region's technology companies. The Chinese American population was diverse too, coming from Taiwan, Hong Kong, different regions within Mainland China, and Southeast Asia. Specific groups settled in specific suburbs or neighborhoods, seeking

[214] The case of Sing Sheng and his family trying to move to South San Francisco's Southwood area is detailed in Cheng, "Out of Chinatown and into the Suburbs," 1082-87.
[215] Ryan Kim, "Census 2000: Who We Are: Bay's Tech Boom a Magnet for Asians," *San Francisco Chronicle,* May 24, 2001.
[216] There were 2,432,585 Chinese out of a total U.S. population of 281,421,906 in 2000. U.S. Census Bureau, "Fact Sheet, Census 2000 Demographic Profile Highlights: Selected Population Group: Chinese Alone," http://factfinder.census.gov (accessed March 3, 2008).
[217] Wong, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley*, 2-4; Kim, "Census 2000."
[218] Richard LeGates, director of urban studies at San Francisco State University, quoted in Frank Viviano, "A Rich Ethnic Mix in the Suburbs," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 11, 1991.

connections with their own, often sustaining ties through the restaurants such as the Hong Kong eateries that sprung up in the 1980s.[219]

The suburban flow was not confined to the Bay Area. The sprawling suburbs of the San Gabriel Valley east of Los Angeles were supposed to be the best place to find authentic Chinese food in America. Though there was initial resistance by longtime residents to the large flow of Asians and Hispanics to these suburbs, by the 1990s both groups composed a large proportion of the population there. San Gabriel's population was about a third ethnic Chinese by 2000, as was Monterey Park nearby.[220] The large San Gabriel Plaza mall fed, clothed, and entertained this population, replete with Asian department stores, restaurants, and supermarkets. One Asian American newspaper remarked "that a transplant from Taiwan or Hong Kong should have no reason to feel homesick" at the plaza.[221] The 99 Ranch supermarket that anchored the mall included a "Tung Lai Shun Islamic Cuisine" restaurant within. Tung Lai Shun was hailed for authentic food because it indeed contributed something new to Chinese restaurant culture in the United States by offering foods from the largely Islamic Western provinces. Commenting on Tung Lai Shun and a similarly "authentic" Mexican restaurant in the area, a *Los Angeles Daily News* article noted, "We've gotten so used to versions of ethnic cooking that are in one way or another Americanized, that an encounter with the real

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[219] Wong, *The Chinese in Silicon Valley*, 1-41.
[220] For population totals, see *The Asian Databook*, 1733-35. The changes in Monterey Park and the surrounding suburbs are documented in Timothy P. Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1994); Leland Saito, *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).
[221] "San Gabriel Square," *GOLDSEA* Website, http://goldsea.com/parenting/malls/sgs.html (accessed February 19, 2008). GOLDSEA was an Asian American Daily online newspaper.

thing can be a shock to the system."[222] The shock was the "real" food served in the form of lamb dumplings and sesame bread, all to be had in a strip mall. Of course, one could also order kung pao chicken and other northern or southern Chinese dishes, for the owners could not stray too far, even in a shopping mall that catered to Asian American customers.[223] Kung pao chicken, a dish originating in Szechuan cuisine, had once been novel, but was old hat in Chinese restaurants by the 1980s.[224]

The importance of suburban restaurants was further reflected in the "top" restaurant lists for some publications. *Goldsea*, an online Asian American newspaper, was rife with "top" lists, including those for restaurants in various cities. It's "top dim sum" lists for Los Angeles and San Francisco were dominated by suburban restaurants. Seven of the eight San Francisco dim sum houses were in the suburbs, and the "most popular," located in Cupertino, "may have something to do with the location next to a Ranch 99 Market," said the review, but it was also distinguished by being "upscale."[225] By this time the idea of non-white ethnic congregations in the suburbs were normalized – it was no longer thought unusual that Chinese and other Asian ethnic groups filled the San Gabriel Valley. While the cities were still a testament to the white flight of the post-

[222] Merrill Shindler, "Affordable Feasts Save on Foreign Travel," *Los Angeles Daily News*, September 3, 1992.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Cecilia Chiang and others helped introduce kung pao chicken to Americans in the 1960s and 1970s, Fletcher, "Cecilia Chiang's Epic Journey," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 24, 2007. Kung Pao dishes are on Menu, David Wan's, New York, NY, 1980, NYPLM, #1980-0062A; Menu, Taipei Restaurant, San Francisco, CA, January 12, 1989, CCSF, Calif –SF – S-T; Lichee Garden, (place unknown), 1981, CHS, Menu, Folder L; Yet Wah's Mandarin Cuisine, San Francisco, CA, (circa 1980s), CCSF, Calif. – SF – U-Z.
[225] "Best of Asian America: San Francisco Bay Area Dim Sum Restaurants," on *GOLDSEA* Web site at http://best.goldsea.com/100/dsnorcal.html (accessed February 19, 2008).

war era, with high black and low white populations overall, the suburbs were being filled by Hispanics and Asian Americans in increasing numbers (see Table 4.1).[226]

The Growth of Chinese Fast Food Chains

Set in contrast to these authentic Chinese food experiences were the new Chinese fast food chains that emerged after the 1980s. Though the suburbs would emerge as a place to get variegated Chinese food, they also spawned the inauthentic version as well, replicated in the malls that trucked other homogenized foods. Hamburgers and pizza had been the two cornerstones of the fast food landscape after the 1950s – one a legacy of German immigration and the other of Italian. Both changed as various companies entered and left, but each became available anywhere and everywhere over time. After the 1960s, Mexican and Chinese food purveyors saw they could take some of the growing eat-out and take-out food market with their own creations. They had to compete with the McDonald's of the world and correspondingly focused on efficiency and mass production. Many of these start-up chains went by the wayside for the same basic reasons that most other restaurants fail – low profit margins, poor food, or bad marketing. They ranged from the Jo Kwan chain opened first in Honolulu by a Hong Kong entrepreneur, to the Nankin Express chain based out of Minnesota. The Jo Kwan chain modeled itself on McDonald's speed and efficiency, cooking with pre-packaged ingredients that were

[226] Jones-Correa, "Reshaping the American Dream," in Kruse and Sugrue, eds., *The New Suburban History*, 183-84.

processed at a central location.[227] Nankin Express automated extensively in its 1985 foray by reducing "the delicate art of Chinese cooking – or part of it, anyway – to four basic steps that can be performed easily in a quick-service setting."[228] This was accomplished by stir-frying meat or vegetables and adding eight to fourteen pre-measured seasonings and sauces to the mix.[229] Both of these chains disappeared in short time.

Other chains were quick to rise and fall in the mid-1980s including Quik Wok, Charlie Chan's and Leann Chin's. Many of these failed because, as one restaurant industry analyst put it, they served "atrocious" food that was composed of "soggy, overcooked rice and greasy egg rolls."[230] The Tai Pan chain that had begun in Cupertino, one of the Bay Area's suburban Chinese centers, sought to meet the "challenge" that "Chinese fast food presents," which was to "take the complex and time-consuming art of Chinese cooking and reduce it to a cost-efficient science."[231] The owner's solution was to do the "laborious cutting, slicing, and dicing" at a "central kitchen that will serve all the units."[232] His restaurants were merely responsible for heating and assembling the food, much like McDonald's. The key to getting the restaurants to succeed was taking out the distinctiveness, and hence, the inefficiencies, of food preparation, instead mechanizing

[227] Lily Yau Lim-Chun, "Chinese Food, McDonald's Style Arrives in Hawaii," *Chinatown News* (Vancouver, BC), April 18, 1979, HML, Carton 54:12, Research Files, Food and Cooking, 1947, 1970-1989.
[228] Toni Lydecker, "Fast Food Goes Ethnic," *NRA News*, March 1985, 12.
[229] Ibid.
[230] The analyst is Michael Culp, quoted in Marc Schoifet, "Chinese Food Luring Chains," *NRA News*, June 17, 1985.
[231] L.A. Chung, "Chinese Fast-Food Cafes Get off to a Speedy Start," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 9, 1985.
[232] Ibid.

and standardizing the process.[233] Over time, the search for authentic Chinese food was as much a reaction to its McDonaldization in America as it was a recognition that it was diversifying in the United States.

Two of the most successful Chinese food chains were Panda Express and P.F. Chang's China Bistro. Panda Express was in the fast food mold and first set up shop in 1983 in the Glendale Galleria Mall just east of Los Angeles. Its owners, Andrew and Peggy Cherng, had operated restaurants for ten years prior in Southern California.[234] By 1993, the chain had 100 outposts and was looking to expand dramatically, opening new branches all over California, Nevada, Arizona, and Texas, mostly in suburbs. In 2008, it had over 1,000 locations nationwide.[235] It was the largest of the Chinese fast food chains, more than doubling the revenue of Manchu Wok (based in Toronto), Pei Wei Asian Diner, (owned by P.F. Chang's), and Pick Up Stix (owned by the same group that runs TGI Friday's) combined.[236] The chain offered around ten to twelve dishes at any given location.

Ironically, when they first began running their restaurants, the Cherngs were trying to get away from the chop suey sameness of their era. Andrew Cherng's father had been a master chef in China, and the couple wanted to offer "a marvelously wide variety

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[233] Chung, "Chinese Fast-Food Cafes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 9, 1985; Schoifet, "Chinese Food Luring Chains," *NRA News*, June 17, 1985.

[234] The couple opened the Panda Inn in Pasadena, California, in 1973, eventually growing that chain to seven locations. Laura Kaufman, "Panda Express, On a Roll, Looks to Grow," *Los Angeles Times*, August 19, 1999.

[235] Matt Krantz, "Panda Express Spreads Chinese Food Across USA," *USA Today*, September 10, 2006 (revised September 13, 2006); The chain listed 1083 locations on March 1, 2008, at "Restaurant Locator," Panda Express Web site, http://www.pandaexpress.com/locations/locator.aspx?zip=Zip%20Code (accessed March 1, 2008)

[236] Julie Tamaki, "Far East Restaurant Battle Heating up on West Coast," *Los Angeles Times*, September 6, 2004.

of Chinese cuisines to America," including Mandarin and Szechuan.[237] As they served these cuisines though, they homogenized them too. An example lie in one of the chain's most popular entrees, orange chicken, which was available even at its branch in Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles. On one belly-busting visit, the *Los Angeles Times* food writer David Shaw spent a game attempting to sample as much of the stadium's new food as possible. After remarking that it was notable to have both Chinese food and sushi at the stadium – surely a sign of the times – he judged the orange chicken to be "starchy and overly sweet" reminding him of "very bad sweet-and-sour chicken."[238] His opinion was in the minority, apparently, at least judging from the success of the chain. One reader had written to his newspaper over a decade before to find out the recipe for her beloved orange chicken. The *Times* said that though it was "called orange chicken, the dish does not contain fruit," so one could add orange zest to it instead.[239] The sauce for the chicken did contain five tablespoons of sugar – a common feature of Chinese food served in America (and not so common in China).[240] A skeptical reviewer for the "Picky Eater" column of *Asian Week* went on an expedition to a Panda Express in Hillsdale Mall in San

[237] Panda Inn Mandarin Cuisine, "About Panda Inn," http://www.pandainn.com/default.asp?nav=about (accessed March 1, 2008). Panda Inn was the original restaurant opened by the Cherngs, and they maintained several locations with this name in Southern California. The Panda Inn restaurant was a full-serve establishment with a more extensive menu and higher prices than the Panda Express fast food spots.
[238] David Shaw, "Matters of Taste," *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 2005. Shaw was described as regarding dining as a form of "high art" and was known to fly across the world just to eat at a special restaurant, so his judgment may have been a bit harsh. See Jon Thurber, "David Shaw, 62," *Los Angeles Times*, August 2, 2005; Ken Reich, "A Memorial to David Shaw," August 5, 2005, on blog, *Take Back the Times*, http://takebackthetimes.blogspot.com/2005/08/memorial-to-david-shaw.html (accessed March 1, 2008).
[239] Rose Dosti, "Orange Chicken, Sticky Rolls, Pickling Spice," *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 1992.
[240] Dosti, "Orange Chicken," *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 1992. The Panda Express Web site says its recipe for orange chicken is secret, but does not call it orange-flavored chicken as noted in many newspaper articles. "Menu Items, Orange Chicken," Panda Express Web site, http://www.pandaexpress.com/menu/ofc.aspx (accessed March 1, 2008). On the prevalence of sweet tastes in American Chinese food, see Lu and Fine, "The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity," *The Sociological Quarterly* 36.3 (1995): 538-43.

Mateo, a suburb south of San Francisco, fully expecting to be disappointed by the inauthentic food there. She was surprised, however, pronouncing the orange flavored chicken a success.[241] Like other fast food spots that dominated the malls, Panda Express also had a significant presence in supermarkets, especially in the Vons chain in Southern California, with over ten percent of its locations there at one point in its evolution.[242] Another chain, P.F. Chang's, had success in the casual dining market because "above all" its food was "dependable," for it had honed the process of turning out thousands of meals a day that looked and tasted the same.[243]

As the chains grew, there were still plenty of independently operated Chinese restaurants providing competition. Just as there was no shortage of restaurants serving hamburgers despite the ubiquity of McDonald's, kung pao chicken could be found at more than the Panda Expresses. In 1982, when many operators were trying new ventures in Chinese fast food, one study found around 10,000 restaurants owned by Asians serving Asian-style food in California.[244] A couple decades later, another estimate found that in

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[241] "Totally Tubular Chinese Fast Food," *Asian Week*, June 11, 2004, http://news.asianweek.com/news/view_article.html?article_id=ceb442358969cd59bfceb85b19badf84 (accessed January 22, 2008).

[242] In 2003, more than 10 percent of the Panda Express restaurants were housed in grocery stores. Karen Robinson-Jacobs, "Jack in the Box Heats Up Combo of Food, Groceries, Gasoline," *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 2003.

[243] Quotes from Jason Sheehan, "Second Helping: P.F. Chang's China Bistro," *Westword*, June 30, 2005; P.F. Chang's was co-founded by Paul Fleming and Philip Chiang. It is based in Scottsdale, AZ. Chiang is the son of Cecilia Chiang, who ran the Mandarin restaurant in San Francisco. He worked for his mother for years, opening a Mandarin outlet in Beverly Hills and other restaurants before founding P.F. Chang's. On Panda Express and P.F. Chang's, see James Flanigan, "Cooking up a Powerhouse of Chinese Fast Food," *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 2001; Tamaki, "Far East Restaurant Battle," *Los Angeles Times*, September 6, 2004; Karl Schoenberger, "Expatriate Entrepreneurs," *Los Angeles Times*, October 5, 1993.

[244] "At Least 10,000 Asian Restaurants in State," *Asian Week*, August 12, 1982. That number did not include the many Asians serving other cuisines in their restaurants. An insurance broker, Ed Chin, decided to count the Asian restaurants so that he could sell health insurance and other services to Asian entrepreneurs, who he found were underserved.

Los Angeles, Chinese restaurants were second only to doughnut shops in number.[245] Chinese Restaurant News, a trade publication, listed 43,000 Chinese restaurants in the United States in 2007, more than the number of McDonald's and Taco Bells combined.[246] In both the independent and chain Chinese restaurants, there was a simultaneous move toward diversity and homogenization.

Authentic Food in the Suburbs – Sameness and Diversity in a Globalizing Era

Chinese food is an example of the search for the authentic in an era in which sameness and diversity ran in parallel tracks through American culture. Chinese immigrants came to the United States in great numbers since the 1960s, and were composed of a more diverse range than the mostly Cantonese immigrants of old. That diversity gave rise to a much broader range of Chinese cuisine in an American context. The nature of Chinese immigration, like that of many other groups, was decidedly transnational too. Chinese Americans traveled back and forth between San Francisco, its suburbs, Taipei, its suburbs, Los Angeles, its suburbs, and Shanghai and its suburbs, to name just a few of the regular stops. While Chinese food had been popular before the recent immigration surge, it was of a homogenized chop suey variety. That changed,

[245] Tamaki, "Far East Restaurant Battle," *Los Angeles Times*, September 6, 2004.
[246] "4th Annual Top 100 Chinese Restaurants in USA Awards Ceremony at Cultural Food New York," Press Release, *Chinese Restaurant News*, November 11, 2007, http://www.c-r-n.com/Jin_e/Content01Detail.aspx?id=301724023; Margot Adler, "Chinese Restaurant Workers in U.S. Face Hurdles," *Morning Edition, NPR,* May 8, 2007. This story says there were about 40,000 Chinese restaurants in the United States. This estimate differs significantly from the total found by a Taiwan government study in 1996, which estimated 20,000 Chinese restaurants in the United States. It is unlikely that the number of restaurants grew by more than 20,000 restaurants in the span of 11 years, so the real number may lie somewhere in between. For the 20,000 estimate, (which was really 23,000 Oriental restaurants total, of which the study said 90 percent were Chinese) see Tang, "Chinese Restaurants Abroad."

giving way to new dishes such as kung pao chicken, chicken in lettuce wraps, and General Tso's chicken. As Chinese Americans moved to the suburbs, demanding the authentic foods of their homeland, other Americans sought them there too.

Those foods would become homogenized over time as Chinese fast food chains found success. As they saw the cuisine homogenizing, Americans sought out more authentic versions, such as Islamic Chinese dishes, but those too were changing, for Chinese Americans and other Americans returned to China on the wings of global trade. China was changing too, as American and European style supermarkets, fast food outlets, and coffee shops sprouted in its major cities, and suburbs.[247] The authentic was fleeting, meaning perhaps that the China-Mex style catfish sprinkled with Asian and Mexican spices, served in a basket with hush puppies and fries at a chain restaurant in a Houston suburb, was as authentically Chinese as any food from a roadside stand in Shanghai. Indeed, the same process was happening with Mexican and Indian and Vietnamese food in their American contexts, as immigrants from those countries moved to the American suburbs. The suburbs in India and Mexico and Vietnam were also sharing cultural aspects with the United States, even as their cultures diversified as well.

Maybe the suburbs were not the cookie cutter dens of monotony that they stood accused of being. The search for authentic foods raised one of the fundamental questions of recent globalization – was it bringing homogenization or diversity to the world? If you could get global cuisines in any place, as Michael Symons argued, then what was

[247] For data on the transnational food business between the United States, Taiwan, and China and expansion of food business abroad, see Harris et al., *The U.S. Food Marketing System, 2002*, 48-49, 89-91; Senauer and Venturini, "The Globalization of Food Systems," 28-31.

distinctive about those places? Many people were forced to retreat to natural geography, rather than the man-made version, for they could not see distinction in the Thai or Mexican or Italian or hamburger restaurants from strip mall to strip mall. This was one reason for the boom in California cuisine, slow food, and local food – all designed to reclaim some sense of place while eating. Finding place in foods was quite difficult in a globalizing world, especially when that world could be had in one place, such as San Francisco. San Franciscans tried to have their cake and eat it too, for they were at the forefront of all these trends. They wanted San Francisco's traditions to remain rooted even as they welcomed new traditions from afar. Authenticity was a fuzzy concept, at best.

The people of the Bay Area suburbs were at the forefront too, even if they were occupying those cookie cutter houses and driving those freeways. Authentic foods could be had in the strip malls of Fremont, Sunnyvale and Daly City – all large suburbs with very high numbers of recent immigrants. Those immigrants rode the flights from SFO to Manila and Mexico City, Lahore and Leon, bringing a new sense of the authentic in each place and with each trip. Many of these international suburbanites rarely set foot in the central cities of any of these places. They consumed from suburb to suburb, mall to mall. One commentator observed that the suburbs had become the "caldron of retail creativity," in recent American life. From this caldron came a search for the authentic, which paradoxically could sometimes be homogenized.[248] The richer suburbs spawned "anti-chain chain stores" that supposedly gave the upper income shoppers some sort of

[248] David Brooks, "Shopping in the Burbs," *New York Times*, April 9, 2000.

authentic experience, even if the same experience could be had anywhere.[249] Williams-Sonoma and its cohorts fit within that mold. The middle class and poor suburbs instead were dominated by Wal-Mart and the "big box" stores. Those stores sold the largest number and variety of goods – they were so big they could hold almost anything. But like the anti-chain chain stores, the big boxes sold many of the same goods across borders. Those searching for authentic foods in the suburbs saw diversity and sameness coalesce. In the suburbs, diversity was to be found in sameness. Or was it sameness in diversity?

[249] Ibid.

Epilogue

The writer Richard Rodriguez was once asked whether he was more Mexican or American. He replied, "In some ways I consider myself more Chinese, because I live in San Francisco, which is becoming a predominantly Asian city." As a San Franciscan, he was "in [a] relationship with other parts of the world" and had to "measure" himself "against the Pacific [and] against Asia."

Much of Rodriguez's writing reflects his struggle with his Mexican-American heritage, but it also illustrates the specific multiculturalism of the United States after the 1960s.[1] That he speaks fluidly about racial or ethnic boundaries and is willing to embrace more than a Mexican or American identity is not surprising, for he continually reflects on multicultural America, especially as it takes form in California. These reflections, much like the evidence presented above, show the paradox of sameness and diversity brought on by modern globalization. Rodriguez explained California's diversity by noting that "the surfer grows up knowing, without having to learn, chopsticks and Spanish, and the Korean diner on Whittier Boulevard serves tofu burritos.[2] On sameness, he said, "we work and live within a suburban architecture belonging to no region or weather. Parents raise children to leave home. Interstate freeways facilitate divorce. Despite our wandering lives, what one notices in America is not a lack of regional cultures but a compounding of

[1] Rodriguez writes for various news outlets. Many of his essays were published on the PBS series *The News Hour with Jim Lehrer*, from 1996 to 2005 at http://www.pbs.org/newshour/essays/richard_rodriguez.html (accessed February 22, 2008). He came to prominence as a result of his memoir, *The Hunger of Memory*.
[2] Richard Rodriguez, "California Dreamin,'" *Online News Hour*, February 5, 2001, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/essays/jan-june01/californiadream_02-05.html (accessed February 22, 2008).

them."[3] Rodriguez sees an America that is both multicultural and mobile, and as a result, individualistic too. This is made possible in some ways by the sameness of surroundings. If all the houses look the same, then one can color them with individual and diverse flourishes. America, the progenitor of recent globalization, is a place where sameness lies in diversity, made possible by its mobile and individualistic culture.

The compounding of cultures can be seen in the foods Americans eat. Chinese food made in the hilly environs of San Francisco's Chinatown, the suburbs outside San Francisco, or the alluvial plains of the Mississippi Delta each consist of different cultural compounds. That the word "compound" can also be used to describe a chemical bond is fitting, for much of the food Americans ate, whether it was ethnic or not, was a finely engineered array of chemical compounds. Those compounds could be processed, packaged, and moved great distances, often beyond national borders. The word compound takes on other meanings too. As the foods and people move distances, they combine to create new compounds, leaving a cultural imprint on each place at which they stop. The imprint is etched not just on the foods themselves, but on the people too.

Finding the imprint is hard for historians, even if we know it was drawn somewhere. People talk about food, think about it, make it, but most do not record what they talked about, how they thought, and what exactly they made. This is changing. There is a relatively new universe of food commentary on the Internet, much of it documenting what people thought about their meals, their interactions with other people as they ate,

[3] Richard Rodriguez, "Essay: Red and Blue," *Online NewsHour*, March 10, 2005, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/essays/jan-june05/rodriguez_3-10.html (accessed February 22, 2008).

and their successes and failures in making various dishes. One solar system in this universe is the restaurant review by the average person. Sometimes these reviews appear on Web sites devoted to eating, such as Chowhound.com, but others can be found in general consumer sites, such as Yelp.com, where viewers can also find out what dishwasher works best or the most reliable place to service a pickup truck. The key distinction is that reviews are posted by users in any form they like, and without regard to the editorial strictures of the newspapers, magazines, or tour guides that employ "expert" reviewers. Many restaurateurs take these reviews seriously, changing their offerings based on these reviews, just as they would if prompted by a newspaper critic.[4] In some respects, the user reviews are as close as one could get to the basic conversations that people have about their food experiences before, during, and after sitting down to a meal. One reviewer, writing about an outpost of the large Whataburger chain in Austin, Texas, said she liked that particular location "because it's near my apartment. What I also like is that the food here tastes just like any other Whataburger in Texas which means it's good."[5] The reviewer was getting just what she wanted – a Texas-style burger sameness, but just steps from her house.[6] Most importantly, the burger chain offered convenience and reliability. For insight about the recent past and the future of food and globalization, historians will likely have to turn to such comments collected in cyberspace.

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[4] One example was Didier Pawlicki, owner of Bistro La Sirène in New York. "When he's not working the restaurant, he's working the Internet," often by posting responses to blogger's comments on sites such as Yelp. See Frank Bruni, "La Sirène's Menu is at the Will of the Web," *New York Times*, March 19, 2008.
[5] "Review, Carrie C., Whataburger, Restaurants, Austin, Yelp" September 9, 2007, on Yelp Website, http://www.yelp.com/biz/whataburger-restaurants-austin-3#hrid:fbVYZJROFkUAqrSVgu3YsQ (accessed February 22, 2008).
[6] Carrie C., "Carrie C.'s Reviews, Austin, Yelp," on Yelp Web site, http://www.yelp.com/user_details?userid=yJ9pNxeVfIAs8qcma73gJw (accessed February 22, 2008).

The comments will only multiply and the global exchanges are not likely to slow down anytime soon. The Internet and the other machinery of globalization make it hard for countries or individuals to pull back from the world, for "globalization, in its multiple forms, remains far more socially and institutionally entrenched than its critics have recognized."[7] In its entrenchment, globalization upends the very nature of social relations, and in turn, the nature of the categories that we use to organize our understanding of those relations – nations, regions, race, ethnicity, and culture. All of these categories come into question in the realm of our eating habits. This realm of food is in some ways more reflective of everyday life than others, including work and play, in part because it straddles all the categories. Food is laced with national, regional, racial, ethnic, and cultural meanings, and eating is in interplay with our work and leisure activities, often intimately so. As globalization changes the way we think about all of these categories, food can tell us how those changes occur, why they happened, and how they affect people on an everyday basis.

So what does food tell us about globalization's effects on American culture and consumption in the late twentieth century? By eating sushi and dim sum, Americans of all backgrounds thought they were eating a little bit of Japan or China. Globalization caused Americans to also question *how* Japanese or Chinese that sushi roll or dumpling was. Why did they care? Because globalization was rather disorienting. That a great number of the world's foods could be had in a single place – within just a few blocks

[7] Held and McGrew, eds., *Globalization Theory*, 4.

radius of some neighborhoods in San Francisco, Chicago, or even within one strip mall in Fremont or Naperville – made "place" quite fluid.

Over time, Americans in different cities and suburbs lived in a curious blend of all those places. In Fremont, you got one blend. In San Francisco's North Beach, you got another blend. While many Americans recognized that the blends were constantly changing, some frankly got cranky about that fact. It was no fun feeling disoriented, so some opted for the homogenized fare that was easy to understand – the sugary, glazed, sweet and sour pork, the taco overladen with cheese, and the California roll that blessedly contained no raw fish.

This pulling back was not confined to foods, but could be seen too in the homes where all those Americans ate all those dinners. In recent years, many real estate agents advised people to hire "stagers" to increase their chances of selling their homes. The stager's goal was to make a house look blissfully homogenized. Distinctive or exotic décor in a home was bad if you wanted to put it up for sale – most buyers wanted a clean canvas on which to put their own flourishes. "Staging is not decorating," said Barb Schwartz, founder of Associated Staging Professionals, adding, "Decorating is personalizing. Staging is de-personalizing."[8]

Food too was personalized and de-personalized, hybridized and homogenized, and the back and forth created tension. Reacting to the homogenizing effects of globalization, the European Union created a mechanism to protect foods with ties to

[8] "Housing: Stage Your Home for a Bigger Sale," *Good Morning America*, April 23, 2006 http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/Consumer/story?id=1872052&page=1 (accessed March 1, 2008). See also http://www.stagingdiva.com (accessed March 1, 2008).

specific regions. This system was put into place in 1992 so that only Parmesan cheese produced in the Reggiano district of Italy could be called "Parmigiano Reggiano," or bologna had to actually be from Bologna.[9] Since then, hundreds of products have been registered in dozens of countries, from Roquefort cheese in France to Clare Island salmon in Ireland.[10] The EU said the registration of these foods was intended to protect their "reputation" and prevent "competition with products which pass themselves off as the genuine article and take the same name."[11] A few years ago, the World Trade Organization even considered a proposal to have food inspectors from Italy examine the United States' 50,000 Italian restaurants to ensure "that they use authentic ingredients and methods."[12] As might be imagined, that proposal went nowhere, but Francisco Forte, an Italian Embassy official in the United States, believed that American companies were "trying to exploit the reputation of Italian product(s) to sell as theirs."[13] Sarah Thorne, his American counterpart, disagreed. As international trade director for the Grocery Manufacturers Association of America, she argued that foods like bologna were "things we started producing when we first got here."[14]

The EU said it was trying to "encourage diverse agricultural production," in its naming of regional foods. For decades, President Lyndon Johnson's wife, Lady Bird, had

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[9] European Commission, Agricultural and Rural Development, "Quality Products Catch the Eye: PDO, PGI, and TSG," http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/foodqual/quali1_en.htm (accessed March 18, 2008).
[10] For the list of protected foods, see European Commission, Agricultural and Rural Development, "Protected Designation of Origin (PDO)/Protected Geographical Indication (PGI), http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/qual/en/1bbab_en.htm (accessed March 18, 2008). See also Alix Kroeger, "EU Reheats Specialty Food Scheme," *BBC News* at http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4804400.stm (accessed March 18, 2008).
[11] European Commission, Agricultural and Rural Development, "Quality Products Catch the Eye."
[12] Tosin Sulaiman, "Bologna! That's not genuine Parmesan!," *Austin American-Statesman*, April 13, 2003.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

tried to protect diversity too, but for other plants – wildflowers. Rather than having a landscape dominated by non-native plants, she wanted "Texas to look like Texas, and Vermont to look like Vermont." Johnson said she hated "to see the land homogenized."[15] Her effort was both a success and a failure. Texas, Vermont, and San Francisco will all likely look rather different and rather the same in another forty years if globalization marches forward as it did in the last forty.

[15] Renee Montaigne and Cokie Roberts, "Lady Bird Johnson Dies at 94," *Morning Edition* (National Public Radio), July 12, 2007.

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CCSF – Menu Collection, Alice Statler Library, City College of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA
ERS-USDA – Economic Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture
HML – Him Mark Lai Papers, Asian American Studies Archives, Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley
INS – Immigration and Naturalization Service
JJMC – Judith Jones Manuscript Collection, Series V. Editor Files, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Records, 1873-1996, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin
NYPLM – Menu Collection, Rare Books Division, Humanities and Social Sciences Library, New York Public Library, Main Branch
OAK – Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library, Main Branch
OPA – Office of Price Administration
SFHC – San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library, Main Branch
VF – Vertical File

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